MEMOIRS
OF THE
American Philosophical Society
HELD AT PHILADELPHIA
FOR PROMOTING USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

VOLUME VII, 1937

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE CEREMONIES, FEASTS AND DANCES

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PHILADELPHIA
THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
1937

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Oklahoma Delaware Ex-Chief and Narrator of Texts. Wi·tapano'xwe,
"Walks by Daylight," in Dance Costume.

[frontispiece]

[facing p. i]

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EXPLANATION OF CHARACTERS USED IN THE TEXTS

The following key explains the symbols for sounds as written in the accompanying texts. 104 194

p, b	bilabials, occasionally intermediate when preceding the dark vowels, a, o, u.
pʻ	a true, slightly aspirated, surd.
m	bilabial similar to English m.
t	surd, as t in English *ten*.
d	intermediate alveolar sonant between surd and sonant quality.
tʻ	a pure slightly aspirated surd.
s	surd, sibilant, corresponding to English s when followed or preceded by i, otherwise postdental, bringing it closer to the interdental θ, (th) with which it corresponds in Munsee.
n	alveolar, not differing from English n.
ŋ	post-palatal, corresponding to English ng in *king*.
k	somewhat intermediate surd stop, medial palatal similar to English k in *lock*.
kʷ	the preceding sound followed by aspiration followed by closure of lips as in position for w.
g	sonant stop, corresponds to English g in *go*.
l	not differing from English l.
ł	voiceless lateral. Not a frequent sound.
ʻ	aspirated, rough breathing following vowel.
h	more forcible breathing than preceding, posterior lingual position but no contact with palate (h may be justaposed to s, c, t, not equivalent to English sh, ch, th).
x	surd, aspirant, palatal-lingual in position, similar to ch in German *bach*.
c	medial palatal surd, as sh in English *wish*.
tc	surd affricative, as ch in English *church*.
w, y	semivowels.

104 · denotes lengthening, or as in English doubling, of vowel
194 . or consonant.

ʷ whispered with position of lips for w, after g or k.

Vowels.

a, e, o, u, i open, medium length.
a^a, e^e, o^o, u^u, i^i open, long, with prolongation.
ą, nasalized.
a as in German *Mann*.
e as in English *yes*.
o as in English *Moses*, but more open, often difficult to distinguish from u.
u rounded as in English *put*.
i as in English *pin*.
i· as ee in English *queen*, or as in French *si*.
ai, ao, au } full glides, not diphthongs.
ə mid-mixed vowel, shorter than *α*.
α open, obscure, as English u in *but*. Sometimes with nasal quality.
ɔ· closed long.
ɔ closed, medium long a like English aw in *law*.
ʹ stress accent without regard for the possibility that voice pitch may prove later to have a more formal status than that of rhetorical sentence cadence.

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE CEREMONIES, DANCES AND FEASTS

By Frank G. Speck

ABSTRACT

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Since the appearance of the works of the educated Moravian missionaries, David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the religious systems, philosophies and rituals of the Delaware Nation have been allowed to rest in oblivion by students of native American culture. The backgrounds of colonial history in the east lie deeply imbedded in the cultural problems of the natives. Literary activity of Jesuit author-priests had laid, a century before, an illustrious documentary foundation for American aboriginal and colonial history dealing with the Huron, the Iroquois and the French of Canada and New York, upon which has since been built an extensive series of dignified studies. Availing himself of the opportunities of these early Pennsylvania missionary accounts for an insight into the past, the author has extended his contacts with living native American cultures of Algonkian persuasion to the Delaware Nation now residing in Oklahoma for the purpose of recording and analyzing the indigenous croyances and rituals still preserved in tradition and in practice. Although separated in space and time by two thousand miles from their homeland in Pennsylvania and New Jersey of two hundred years ago, the research covering some eight years of investigation among the Delawares of Oklahoma and the Delaware-Munsee of Ontario (supported partly by grants from the Faculty Research Fund of the University of Pennsylvania and the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania) has yielded material covering twenty ceremonies and rites which form the contents of this volume. It is a continuation of the field investigated in the author's "A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony," Vol. 2, Historical Commission of Pennsylvania, 1931.

The presentation covers Family Feasts, the Bear and the Otter Rites of the Grease Drinking Ceremony, the Mask Dance Rite, the Buffalo Dance Ceremony, Rain Making Ritual, the Spring Prayer and Football Ceremony to Advance Vegetation, the Corn Harvest Ceremony, Rite to Avert Thunder, Mortuary Rites and Procedures, the Ceremonial Training of Men, the Ritualistic Games and Social Dances and an account of the Bone-Burial Ceremony which is attributed in origin to the tribes of the Southeast.

A dominant note is in the family cult rites which have been acquired in Delaware religious history through associations with animals, as related in mythology, which imposed certain ceremonial obligations upon them to avoid infliction of sickness. A tabular arrangement presents the analysis of traits of the ceremonies.

105 The factual material permits the definition of the ceremonial pattern of the Delawares and an evaluation of the functions of appeal, wrought in humility so unassociated with North American Indian attitudes, to the high god or Creator and the lesser spirit forces, of satisfaction to plant and animal forces, of thanksgiving and subtle magical symbolism. Some of the rites, the addresses and poetically conceived prayers like great music and great poems flow from the heart not from the head, even burning with a fire nearly inspired for their devotion in the manner of religions of the Old World. Many are given in Delaware text recorded phonemically with interlinear and free translations. Notes are inserted where required to explain allusions to Delaware general belief and practice.

Several traditional accounts are included concerning traits (witchcraft and the removal of the flesh from the bones of the deceased before burial) in the now extinct culture of the Nanticoke of the upper Chesapeake Bay area.

INTRODUCTION

The consummation of religious fervor of the Delaware 796x
Indians, as among many preliterate peoples, is reached in the 114
periodic communal ceremony of the Big House which con- 121
tinued in performance through twelve consecutive nights. The Big House Ceremony was made a subject of study in 1928 and published as a separate volume in a series of monographs by the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.[1] In the annual religious cycle of the Delawares, however, other rites and ceremonies of no less importance, though of shorter duration and with less formal preparation, had their place. A series of these minor performances and rites are to claim attention in the present study. The material was gathered between 1928 and 1932 under an appropriation for publication, as a second volume of Delaware ethnological research, granted by the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania. Acknowledgment is accordingly made to the Historical Commission for sponsorship in financing the project and releasing the manuscript in 1935.[2]

Among the existing members of the Delaware or Lenape 121
Nation, now dwelling within the confines of the old Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma, many of these ancient rituals have continued in practice down to the present day, having been transported with the tribe from its original seats in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Some of them are, indeed, mentioned, even described, by early missionary authors who strove so long to abolish them. The opportunity to study the concepts of these age-old ceremonials of a venerable tribe comes as a welcome augment to the all too meagre documentary records of such human achievements in the development of religion at

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[1] Frank G. Speck, "A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, in Native Text Dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe." Vol. 2, Historical Commission of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1931. Frequent reference will be made to this study under the abbreviation *Big House Ceremony*.

[2] Correspondence, Miss Frances Dorrance, Director, and Miss Myrtle Keeny, Acting Executive Secretary, Jan. 10-12, 1935.

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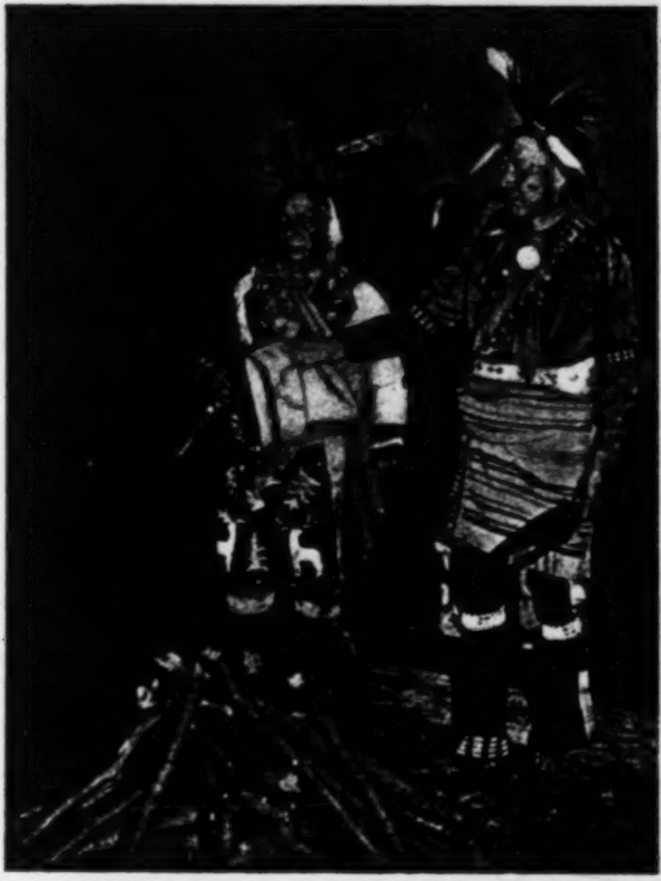
PLATE 1



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DELAWARE CEREMONIAL LEADERS IN DANCE COSTUME.

Left, Wi·tapano'xwe, "Walks by Daylight," C. J. Webber, and right, Kwᵊtepagi·'kamen, "Rustling Leaves (when Walking)," George T. Anderson, of Dewey, Oklahoma. (Courtesy of Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, 1932, and Allen S. Fisher, "Lutheranism in Bucks County, 1734–1934," Tinicum, Pa., 1935.)

[facing p. 4]

121 large. It is, then, to one of the religious men of the tribe, *Wi·tapano'xwe*, "Walks by Daylight" (C. J. Webber), the
121 joint author of the text study of the Big House, supplemented
115 with the cooperation of *Ni·'ka'ni·paxoxwe*, "Walking in Advance, Leader" (Joe Washington), and *Kwutc'pagi·'kamen*, "Rustling Leaves (when walking)" (George T. Anderson), that we owe the narration of this series of texts explaining the procedures themselves and the traditions of their origin (Plate 1).

×424 Some of them, for instance the Grease Drinking Ceremonies
776 and the Doll Dance, are family properties handed down as obligations within the family group from some past period when the responsibility for their enactment was incurred through the event of some long-forgotten individual undergoing experience with a spirit in human or animal form. These have developed among the Delawares into septs inheriting the obligation to perform them corresponding to the motives actuating rites of similar derivation in several other parts of North America.

×776 In the history of Delaware institutions of the kind there
174 is reason to suppose that the minor ceremonies, perhaps those passed on through generations within the family groups, may indeed be older than the Big House Ceremony. The fact that in the Big House certain rites appear to have been added and others to have been dropped off as time went on would show that the great celebration has integrated through the coalition of originally separate elements. Its comprehensiveness and its thoroughly worked-out cosmological philosophy seem to denote this. The formative elements themselves, then, may be those which we have here, the minor rites performed by smaller social groups, the families, perhaps the villages under the old social system when the tribe resided undisturbed by an European invasion in the east, and those conceived by certain individuals as an outcome of their personal revelations. These bear indication of being prior developments entering into the composition of the dominating and communal Big House Ceremony. Keeping pace with the dwindling devotion of the
[178] Delawares to the rites of the Big House, the individual and

small group celebrations have suffered decline, some having 796^x
entirely ceased in recent years. In the minor ceremonies we 174
have accordingly good prospective material to work over for [178]
the analysis of the larger composite ceremony. By taking
into consideration with the Delaware institutions the process
of ceremony integration in other parts of North America, of 796^x
which the Sun Dance of the Plains Indians is a striking 121
example, we are coming to possess the source material needed by the student pursuing research in the fascinating field of the history of religions. These repositories of native thought and experience are great in another sense. They offer a suggestive line of thought concerning the building-up process which has produced some of the great mass celebrations that mark the religious calendar of the preliterate tribes in whose culture have developed sophistries framed in proportions not unlike those of civilized nations.

I should like to add that the textual study offered in these 121
pages is a contributive not a conclusive one as concerns the ethnology of the Delawares. Observations of ceremonial procedure still remain to be made on the rites that survive in the tribe.[3] But nothing can supercede the worth of the word for word deposition of even a modest informant like Wi·tapano'xwe, who has taken active part in many of them and whose nature has been steeped in reverence for them since childhood.

Some explanation should, it seems, be offered for omitting to mention and discuss ceremonial feasts and small rites that operate directly for the curing of sickness. The student of religious institutions would naturally expect these to be embraced in a study of this character since they are no less important and interesting as depicting the religious habits of the tribe. This aspect of the field has, however, been studied, and the material brought together for treatment in an independent monograph by Miss G. I. Tantaquidgeon, the manuscript being in the archives of the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

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[3] Not forgetting that excellent studies made in the field of Delaware Ethnology by M. R. Harrington have been published in his "Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape," Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum American Indian (Heye Foundation), New York, 1921, and more is promised by the same author.

121 An explanation is also needed to account for omission in the present study of treatment of the Peyote cult which has invaded the religious complex of the Delawares in Oklahoma. Within the past fifty years a considerable number of families have been converted to this much-discussed, I may say, much-maligned, doctrine of psychophysical therapeutics. The Peyote creed has therefore become an element in the religious life of the tribe. Its history may be simple as an acculturation, but its elements under modification in the minds of its Delaware converts with their old spiritual system in the background remains a subject for research. This has been undertaken by Dr. V. M. Petrullo and the results have become available in his dissertation.[4]

000 In carrying out the purpose of studies projected among the various bands of the Delaware Nation in Oklahoma and Ontario, several sources of coöperation deserve mention, namely that afforded me by Dr. George G. Heye, Director of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, in securing specimens to illustrate the performances; by Mr. H. H. F. Jayne, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, and several private collectors, Mr. S. W. Pennypacker II, Mr. Robert Riggs and Mr. Earl Horter of Philadelphia. A collection of articles illustrating Delaware religion in ethnology is also on loan exhibition by the writer in the rooms of the Delaware County Institute of Science, Media, Pennsylvania. To Miss D. M. Spencer, Dr. H. Wieschhoff and Mr. L. C. Eiseley I am indebted for cooperative aid.

[122] The Committee of the Faculty Research Fund, University of Pennsylvania, has awarded several grants, gratefully acknowledged, for field work in Delaware-Munsee religion among the bands resident in Ontario.

To Mr. Frank T. Siebert, Jr., University of Pennsylvania, I am also indebted for valued assistance in checking over the texts and translations, and my discussions of rites and tales, with his field notes.

114 Before proceeding to the subject matter of my study, one more comment upon the character of ancient documentary

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[4] V. M. Petrullo, "The Diabolic Root, A Study of Peyotism, the New Indian Religion Among the Delawares." University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1934, pp. 1–185.

sources dealing with native life and customs as compared in value with living sources available today among the Indians themselves. There is in the minds of many students of history and ethnology a deep-seated feeling that in all cases of discrepancy of statement and interpretation modern sources are universally less reliable, through the assumption that the old writers were not only explicit and that they saw things correctly but that they observed native behavior at a time when foreign elements had not been incorporated into their ceremonies. The inference is, of course, often true, but the following case speaks for itself much to the contrary, and since it pertains intimately to Delaware religious festivals is worthy of notice here. Historians, indeed, treating the colonial period, with the Indians still in their natural background, seldom fail to applaud those efforts of contemporary writers as being the best fruits of observation, often the only ones to be relied upon when a conflict of authority on some phase of native belief arises between early published testimony and that of the present-day natives. The example in question, quoted below from a seventeenth century source answers for itself. The account, consisting of one page of matter is clearly a reference to the twelve-night Big House celebration recorded in the volume devoted to this ceremony.[6] In the passage there are nine correct observations and nine erroneous statements and misconceptions as we check them off against the full account. Thus, it seems one early documentary source of control over the facts involved in historical ethnology dealing with the Big House Ceremony fails in the test to stand as valid testimony in the face of modern investigation. This will serve to vindicate in the eyes of the sceptic the character of Indian informants on the subject of their rites and beliefs.

> "For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of War or the like; their usual time is about Michaelmass, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw; most of them go hunting for venison; When they are all congregated, their priest tells them, if he wants money, their God will accept no other offering, which the people believing, every one gives money ac-

[6] See footnote 1, page 3.

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cording to their ability. The priest takes the money, and putting it into some dishes, sets them upon the top of their low flat-roofed houses, and falls to invocating their God to come and receive it, which with many loud hallows, and outcries, knocking the ground with sticks, and beating themselves, is performed by the priest, and seconded by the people.

"After they have thus a while wearied themselves, the priest by his Conjuration brings in a devil amongst them, in the shape sometimes of a fowl, sometimes of a beast, and sometimes of a man, at which the people being amazed, not daring to stir, he improves the opportunity, steps out and makes sure of the money, and then returns to lay the spirit, who in the meantime is sometimes gone, and takes some of the Company along with him; but if any English at such times do come amongst them, it puts a period to their proceedings, and they will desire their absence, telling them their God will not come whilst they are there."[6]

Something may be deduced from the preceding since the purpose of an introduction is, among other aims, to anticipate some questions of history and interpretation of the material offered. I had previously expressed some conviction, after pondering on the various possibilities of how to classify the individual family feasts of the Delawares in relation to the Big House Ceremony, that integration had probably taken place.[7] In short, that the family religious observances were fundamental in respect to age and pattern and that, in the course of sacred history, perhaps indeed upon the event of some catastrophe of nature as Delaware tradition makes out, the Big House Ceremony came into conception and was established as an outcome of the crisis. The foregoing quotations and discussions should therefore be considered as evidence on the point.

Zeisberger over a century ago likewise wrote in general terms of Delaware ceremonies. His description is worth quoting. The wording, however, does not permit of specific classification of the particular ceremony he had in mind in his description. Part of it may cover the procedure of the Big House Ceremony while much of it could also apply to other rites, such as the Grease Drinking feasts, the patterns of which appear in his description. It either means that the ceremonial elements have undergone change in the evolution of Delaware ceremony since his time, or that his version of ceremonial conduct, in which the elements of several festivals seem comprised, was due to indifference to the value of detail which we now require in such fields of investigation.

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[6] "Denton's Description of New York formerly New Netherlands," 1670.

[7] "The Big House Ceremony," pp. 16–17.

> "Preparations for such a sacrificial feast extend through several days. The requisite number of deer and bears is calculated and the young people are sent into the woods to procure them together with the leader whose care it is to see that everything needful is provided. These hunters do not return until they have secured the amount of booty counted upon. On their return they fire a volley when near the town, march in in solemn procession and deposit the flesh in the house of sacrifice. Meantime the house has been cleared and prepared. The women have prepared fire-wood and brought in long dry reed grass, which has been strewn the entire length of the house, on both sides, for the guests to sit upon. Such a feast may continue for three or four nights, the separate sessions beginning in the afternoon and lasting until the next morning. Great kettles full of meat are boiled and bread is baked. These are served to the guests by four servants especially appointed for this service. The rule is that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice must be eaten altogether and nothing left. A small quantity of melted fat only is poured into the fire.[1] The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise, as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another."[2]

We may now consider the outlines of a pattern representing the Delaware ritual system. Enough material is at our disposal to suggest marking out the dominant traits of ceremonial form in the Oklahoma division of the Nation in the following sketch.

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[1] This is remembered but no longer practiced.

[2] David Zeisberger, "History of the Northern American Indians." Ed. by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d., p. 137.

DELAWARE CEREMONIAL PATTERN

x796 *Origin.*—Through mythical association of family ancestors with supernatural agencies. Usually explained in a mythical narrative.

Purpose.—The satisfaction of offended spiritual forces is accomplished, and recurrence of the original misfortune avoided by the rite. Incidentally an added blessing from the spiritual agent or host is secured for the group performing and for mankind in general, in curing or averting sickness, for protection or augmentation of crops, control of weather and seasons, checking of plague, pest or catastrophe.

Officers of Ceremony.—(*a*) A master of ceremonies who is responsible for entire management, with the aid of (*b*) assistants or attendants who sweep, cook and render general service; (*c*) musicians who drum and sing. The master of ceremonies a voluntary "who brings the ceremony in," is speech-maker, prayer-leader, and manager of order of procedure at ritual meetings. Principal participants are of same ceremonial group as holder of ceremony, other groups being represented as guests with appropriate parts.

Time and Place.—Usually at night in some place selected apart from the habitations. The sacred performance-place is usually in the form of a square, the four sides symbolizing the four quarters of the earth, and the whole plot a symbol of the sky realm. Performance is periodical, annual, or when spiritual admonition is felt in the presence of some impending personal or group crisis.

Order of Procedure.—(*a*) Opening address and invocation by master of ceremonies; (*b*) dance and recitations by men who have had spiritual visions, accompanied by drummers who repeat cantos of each recitation; (*c*) specific dance displaying an image or showing symbolical characteristics of the spiritual host of ceremony; (*d*) feast at midnight, or at stated periods, of "pure" meat and hominy secured by special hunter emissaries; (*e*) address of invocation closing first stage of ceremony; (*f*) relaxation for ensuing period of night in social dances and amusements. 796x

Wampum Compensation.—Gift of yard-length of wampum, "shoulder to finger-tip," to officers and assistants as spiritual compensation and symbol of blessing for their holy services. Wampum remains only in circulation for payment of offices in religious ceremonies for their maintenance, not as an economic medium of exchange.

Ceremonial Equipment.—Drums (dried deer hide folded and water-drum), rattles (tortoise shell containing pebbles), feathers for sweeping away spiritual obstacles, dried juniper incense, ceremonial smoking tobacco, grease for drinking, sacred corn-meal and wild meat (or accepted substitute to suit modern conditions), original Delaware dress and ornamentation of participants, red paint (*pe·'kən*), and symbolical fires. *The Delaware pattern is inclined to the use of carved images of the human face and form, either as masks, effigy figures or face sculpturings.*

Symbol of Twelve.—In division of ceremony into periods, in repetition of movements, in ceremonial equipment, the number twelve is a base concept of procedure, deriving itself evidently from the lunar cycle. [801]

Religious Attitude.—Deep feeling of humility and unworthiness, constantly reiterated appeal to Great Spirit through the spirit-forces (mani'tu) controlling departments of the universe, for general blessings of health, protection and sustenance, with sincere expressions of gratitude for the blessings of nature hitherto enjoyed, reverence for ancestral institutions, foods and inventions and appeal to spirits of deceased to be present upon ceremonial occasions to enjoy them and grant immunity from spiritual infections of sickness and evil.

Social Aspects.—The solidification of Delaware nationality through coöperation and participation in the social events, dances and amusements, as well as in the religious unity fostered through the carrying out of rites and institutions originating among sanctified generations of the past. The unity of the ceremonial groupings (Wolf, Tortoise and Turkey) composing the Delaware tribe is strengthened by 796x 182

×796 the common duties and ceremonial cohesion of their members. 182 The tendency to make Delaware ceremonies esoteric is also present.

×796 The personages of the ceremony may be listed under the following titles, which apply to all the rites performed. The ceremony itself is *tel·ha'k·en*, "that which is brought in," the idea being that someone sponsors and produces it by bringing forth the occasion. The leader or master of ceremonies is *elha'k·et*, "one who brings it in"; *pəm'tu'nhet*, "the speaker" of the occasion; *a'ckaᵉs*, "attendant," the waiter or helper; *exhaŋge'tcik*, "those who give away food," the cooks and feast attendants; *naxko'hak·eᵉtcik*, "followers" being the drummers whose rôle it is to follow the singers, repeating their verses; *pu'tcəl*, equivalent to officer who has charge of keeping order.

538 A word or two concerning the distinctions in character between narrations which pass among the Delawares as epics having a mythical explanatory origin and those which are mere chronicles of happenings in past or present experiences of life. The traditional legend explanatory of some of the phenomena of nature is termed *ati·loha'k·an*, the ordinary narrative story *la'tci·molsuwa'k·an*. The distinction between these categories is something like what differentiates a saga from a narrative. The former is a legend concerning characters and events which do not change in the telling, partaking of the nature of gospels. A biography, on the other hand, falls under the latter term. Similar distinctions, it is interesting to note, have been recorded in respect to the traditional lore of other Algonkian-speaking peoples so well defined in the case of the Menomini by Dr. Bloomfield.[1] The texts in the ensuing collection are of the saga type and as such form an individual version of certain important teachings concerning the spiritual and physical universe which have formed without change the body of sacred learning acquired from some remote sources and handed down among the religious leaders of the tribe for ages.

171 The foregoing summary is arranged and offered as a

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[1] L. Bloomfield, "Menomini Texts," *Publications Amer. Ethnological Society*, XII, 1928, p. xii.

source for comparison of Delaware ceremonies in general with 171 those of other groups of eastern North America. Casual survey of its salient points will reveal differences and similarities observed in the elements of ceremony so far recorded among Central Algonkian, Iroquois tribes and those of the southeast. It will remain for more intensive study derived from similar summaries made among these groups to determine the position of Delaware ceremonialism in relation to them.

In conjunction with the Delaware series of festivals it is 776x
evident that those of the Munsee should be jointly grouped. 184
Harrington's notes on Munsee rites is our principal source. The fact that the Munsee bands still exist in several locations in Canada leaves an open possibility that more detailed and penetrating records of ceremonies of the family or individual order may still be secured. Yet the more thoroughly Christianized condition of the tribe in general may, when the attempt is made, convert this hope to chagrin. This has been the outcome in the case of the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations reserve.

Formal ceremonies have disappeared from the calendar of religious events of the Delaware-Munsee incorporated with the Six Nations of Ontario for almost a century, since the abrupt discontinuation of the rites of the Big House in this band in 1832. This resulted from a successful attack on its [777] creed by the native missionary, G. H. M. Johnson, a Mohawk.[2] There remains little to put on record beyond what knowledge we have, opportunely rescued in 1910–14 and admirably presented by M. R. Harrington in several of his publications referred to in the course of our study. Minor religious performances may still be obtained in descriptive form from the Canadian bands of Munsee and Delawares blended together on several of the reservations, but from a casual survey of these groups, their dialects and history, I am free to

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[2] An interesting summary of religious history of the band is compiled by R. R. Whale, of the Brantford, Ontario, Historical Society. Johnson with John Wampum, presumably a Delaware, took axes and destroyed the images in the Long House in the Delaware settlement. Whereupon all the Delawares there were converted.

x 796 agree with Harrington calling them Munsee and treating their
184 ceremonial habits as allied properties of the Munsee tribe as
such. Investigation in this direction still remains to be
carried on systematically among the Munsee groups, and is
being pushed by the author under grants awarded by the
[122] Faculty Research Fund of the University of Pennsylvania
since 1932. Acknowledgment is made to this body for
Grants No. 50 and 93 which were used in beginning Delaware-
Munsee research and securing comparative material to elucidate some questions raised in the study of the Oklahoma band.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

The great recurrent and communal ceremony, the Big 796x House or Gamwing, has been covered in a preceding study.[1] At the time it was recorded, most of the topics prepared and discussed were treated with the understanding that a continuation of inquiry into Delaware religion would contribute supplementary material to our knowledge of the spiritual functionings of this festival. Accordingly the way was left open for an extension of its treatment as occasion arose. It is true in particular, and was so recognized in the version of the ceremony published, that variations in performance and in the obligations enforced upon its participants were understood to exist in accordance with the procedure as conducted under sponsorship of the three different social-ceremonial groups, Turkey, Tortoise and Wolf. It has previously been shown that the ceremonial if not the social structure of the Delaware Nation is, in certain respects, founded upon these groupings. I may repeat the important comment that the version of the Big House Ceremony recorded in the volume referred to, was a type-performance of the Turkey group, of which the narrator, Wi·tapano'xwe, was a council member.

An opportunity has since arisen for me to interview, in [115] Oklahoma, Joe Washington, Ni·'ka'ni·paxoxwe, "Walking in Advance, Leader," the hereditary master of ceremonies of this rite when its celebration falls into the hands of the Wolf group. The occasion of questioning him resulted in substantiation of the details previously recorded and printed concerning the general aspects of the ceremony. But it became clear that in the history of Delaware institutions something has been going on either, *a*, to integrate the religious observances of what were formerly separate local bands of the tribe, having more or less distinct customs, into a national ceremony which through time has retained some

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[1] See footnote 1, p. 3.

x 796 original features of a distinct character, or, *b*, that it was in earlier times an uniform ritual which has broken up into variant forms with changes of time and place in the expansion of its influence. For the present time it seems hardly safe to interpret the circumstances that may have contributed to change the manner of its celebration. My impression is at present, nevertheless, that the three social subdivisions of the Nation, Turkey, Tortoise and Wolf, were in an earlier period indistinct areal groups whose fusion created the Nation. The Nanticoke, for instance, have been repeatedly referred to as being of the Wolf identity in the sense of a sub-tribe, and something similar is true of the Mahikan, giving evidence in the direction of the above supposition. As regards the local-group types of the Big House Ceremony, an opportunity to record the version and rulings of the performers as carried on by the Wolf group, would be an important addition to our knowledge of religious history among the eastern tribes. And Joe Washington's dictation of the Wolf group's regulations becomes a necessary task for the future. Through lack of support at the time to undertake this study its completion will have to remain postponed. Washington offered to dictate a full account of the Big House rite as carried on by the Wolf group, and through conference with him the following notes were secured covering some of the particulars in which it differed from the Turkey group rite. His observations
x 796 bring out a point in question, namely, that the details of the
184 Turkey and the Wolf group ceremony probably differ as much as they do when the Turkey group rite is compared with that of the Munsee recorded in Canada by Harrington.

The Wolf group ceremony lasted only eight days whereas the Turkey group rite as recorded consumed twelve. The last
x 796 time that the Wolf rite was performed by the father of Joe
793 Washington, he was told not to repeat it unless the spiritual obligation took possession of his mind with such compelling force that he could not decline his mission. He was also enjoined not to give way to the insistency of members of the Wolf group or others of the Nation that the rite be carried out merely to maintain the customs of their respective ancestors.

This motive would be insufficient, even a sacrilege. The 796x
spiritual preparation of its participants was made a matter of 793
prime importance and the purity of those concerned in it was
to be insisted upon. Joe Washington has since felt that these
serious injunctions were of so drastic a character that until the
present time they could not be complied with. It seems,
therefore, that there is little prospect for anything more than a
dictated version to be obtained, which will have to await
necessary support for its accomplishment.

Upon the occasion of my expedition to the Delawares in 796x
Oklahoma some time was spent in interviews with Tom Half 114
Moon [2] who had had experience as an attendant, or *a'ckas,* [115]
of the Big House Ceremony as performed in recent years by
his group, the Turkey group. The notes offered are, there-
fore, advantageous in respect to the details furnished by one
who had the teachings directly from those who were re-
sponsible for its proper conduct. These notes should ac-
cordingly serve as a supplement to that section of the cere-
mony published in the Big House Ceremony volume dealing
with the duties of the attendants. They are in effect as
follows:

The attendants who sweep the White Path, or the path 796x
around which the dancers proceed when performing in the Big
House after each dance, do so with turkey wings, using only
the left hand in holding the fans, since the left hand is the [783
holy hand, the right the unholy. The male attendants start 826]
sweeping at opposite ends from the women. When they have
swept the dancing path twelve times they have cleared away
the obstacles of an unfavorable spiritual nature lying between
the worshippers and the Great Spirit. As was noted in the
published account, the attendants each receive a yard of
wampum at the end of the ceremony. He also noted that
those who attended the ceremony received two wampum [777]
beads each to be kept by them as tokens of good fortune until
the next performance. These beads were, he added, held in
the mouth as sacred objects when the members went outside

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[2] His Delaware title-name is *Axkwe'lpaɔŋgo'xwe*, "Overturns Mountains when Walking," a member of the Turkey group.

x 796 at the termination of the rite to pray, forming a line at the west door of the Big House. Why they prayed with the wampum beads in their mouth, figuratively with their "heart" in their mouths, is not explicitly known to the informant, but we are told that wampum is the "heart" of the Delaware.

x 796 773 Reverting to Wi·tapano'xwe's version of the origin of the Turkey group rite, Half Moon added a most interesting supplement to the tradition which I quote as follows as nearly as possible in his words. The origin tale narrates the occasion of the earthquake and bursting forth of black fluid as in a volcanic eruption, as a sign of the anger of the Great Spirit aroused by the evil doings of men, and that the ceremony of the Big House was revealed in a vision to some good men as a means of appeasing the anger of the Supreme One. Half Moon added to this that at the time of the cataclysm the women in terror trying to shelter themselves from the downpour of destruction, took the little children under seven years old and held them in their arms. They knew that children of this age could not be guilty of wrong and so attempted to shield themselves from the Great Spirit's wrath. Finally, we are told, one of the innocents cried out in terror, "Ho, ho; Hă, hă," which became known at once as the revealed prayer-call by which the Great Spirit should be addressed. The distracted people knew that it was the mission of this child to inform them of the means by which the Great Spirit might be invoked in prayer to stay his anger. This most interesting narrative accounts for the origin of the sacred prayer-call so often employed in the procedure of the Big House as recorded in the published work, while for the student of the history of religions we in it have another instance of the ruse of the guilty hiding from wrath behind the shield of innocence.

x 796 778 773 From Half Moon as a source comes another most significant tradition bearing upon the history of the use of the Mask and the carved images in the Big House Ceremony. According to the Delaware conception of events in the history of their ceremony the images and the Mask Spirit episode (see page 39, "Big House Ceremony") were formally introduced into the rite

shortly before or about at the time of the arrival of Europeans. 796x
A transcript of the informant's version is as follows: 778
773

> "It was relatively late, just about the time when white people were first seen by the Delawares, that they adopted the carved images as part of the ceremonial equipment of the Big House. The images were not made on the posts of the building before. A man of spiritual power had a vision of a monster residing in the East, its body covered with hair, with a face half red and half black. To prove the reality of his vision he induced a companion to accompany him traveling to the East where they finally reached the dwelling place of the monster, proving his existence. Upon this discovery they returned to their people. Having identified the monster and desiring to acquire the power to call upon him for spiritual aid when they desired it, they induced the other Delawares to allow them to carve the likenesses of the monster upon the posts of the Big House. Furthermore they innovated the rite of the False Face or Mask image (Messingk) as personified by an actor who wore the Mask and who was garbed in the bear skin coat and leggings carrying a pouch of the same material and a large snapping turtle shell hand-rattle. Henceforth the Mask Image figured as a potent Spirit Force in the hierarchy of the Manitto assemblage in the Big House celebration. The black- and red-faced hairy monster possessed latent power to effect evil in the lives of men. Hence those to whom he reveals himself in a vision acquire the power to do harm, and since his presence is tolerated among the Big House spirits they may find a place among the worshipers. That is why it is not all for the exercise of the power of good. In the development of Delaware religion as it appears in the Big House, a fault crept in."

What the meaning of this peculiar legend may be as regards the actual history of the Big House Ceremony, one is at a loss to say as yet. It would seem that the position of the Mask Spirit as a canonized Spirit Force amid the benevolent congress of Delaware deities corresponds to that of the Devil's advocate. Before, however, we can admit the tradition as one having historical significance, a wiser analysis and wider comparison of the elements of the major ceremonies of the eastern Indians will have to be invoked. Nevertheless there seems to be a feeling current among some of the religious men with whom I talked that the Big House Ceremony has absorbed some imperfections and that this is one. Half Moon himself even went so far as to declare that the decline of the ceremony as well as of the Delaware Nation, was due to the transgression of accepting an Evil Force as part-sharer of the

x 796 worship in the Big House. I might add, as contributing a
778 view-point on the same perplexing question, that early in the
773 eighteenth century the missionary Brainerd, then living with the Delawares on the upper Susquehanna in their village near Sunbury, reported a conversation with a man of the Nation in which was embodied a similar opinion as regards the False Face.

x 796 In a section of my study of the Big House Ceremony I
781 indulged in quoting some estimates of the religious spirit among the Delawares adding some of my own impressions in the matter. An opportunity to add to these, since it comes from the writings of a contemporary witness over a century ago when the tribe was resident on the Scioto River, comes from John Brickell. He says: "I know I am influenced to good even at this day more from what I learned among them than what I learned among people of my own color. . . . They worship the Great Spirit whom they call manito, which signifies or conveys to their mind the idea of all strength or rather all sufficiency." [1] This commentary may be adjoined as a supplement to the section in the work referred to, dealing also with the native concept of the Great Spirit, as something corroborative of the early belief of this tribe in the existence of a supreme deity and is intended for the eyes of authorities such as Dr. Schmidt who have devoted so much attention to the nativity of the concept in American culture.

x 796 In the study of the Big House Ceremony some space was
821 devoted to the construction of the belief regarding the path
775 taken by the soul in its journey from earth to the spirit realm. The assumption was made that the Milky Way was considered to be the path in question. Yet the inability on the part of several sources to furnish the native term applied to the Milky Way and their uncertainty as to what symbol in the sky represented the path of the spirit left the matter in a state of doubt. The fact that among other Algonkian peoples the Milky Way is "Spirit or Ghost Path" has some bearing on the point that we are trying to clear up in Delaware belief. It remained for inquiry among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six

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[1] "Narrative of John Brickell's Captivity among the Delaware Indians," *The American Pioneer*, I, 2d ed., Cincinnati, 1842, pp. 43, 46, 48, 56.

Nations Reserve, Canada, to furnish a Delaware appellation 796x
for the Milky Way, which turned out to be *ane·'i*, "path." 821
This determination would seem to bridge the gap in the 775
previously obtained data. As a corroboration, likewise, of the Delaware belief that the Milky Way is the path of ghosts, we discover in the confessions of belief of the Delawares while residing in the Ohio region that the Milky Way was the path over which souls traveled; after the teachings of several native prophets who in about 1762 stirred religious revivals in the tribe.[4] Whether or not this belief was derived in that time from a still older native concept is not said, yet something of this sort is implied. Thus the Delawares coincide in belief with kindred peoples in the East to establish the antiquity of the concept just dealt with.

George Anderson, *Kwu'tcpagi·'kamen*, "Rustling Leaves 796x
(when Walking)," also of the Wolf ceremonial group, offered the following details of information on the procedure of his group when celebrating in the Big House.[5] The Wolf group rite may be conducted within an eight-day period. He had heard that the sweat lodge had formerly been erected in the Big House at a point just to the left of the drummers. As noted in the volume on the Big House Ceremony, the sweating rite was held as a test of endurance for the men who had spiritual guidance. Anderson also added that he had heard of deer skins as offerings being hung up inside the Big House during the Ceremony near the east door. Several additions were made by him to the information recorded in the volume referred to among which may be noted that when the fires are removed from the Big House the ashes from both are thrown out through the west door. Furthermore, he emphasized the regulation that no women or children were allowed to be present within the Big House when the new fire was being made. He said that the rite of making new fire performed by the male attendants was one of spiritual tensity, that some-

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[4] Zeisberger, pp. 133–4. Heckewelder, pp. 291–3. For a summary of data in the epoch of the Delaware prophet see James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology, 1896, pp. 662–9.

[5] Funds were available for the task through a Faculty Research Grant, University of Pennsylvania, Grant no. 93.

x796 times they failed trying with all their might to make fire with the fire drill one after another and had to resort to making it with flint and steel. He attributed such failure to the attendants having violated the rules of continence during the [831] Big House period. He himself felt that it was becoming more and more difficult for the Delawares to perform the ceremony on account of increasing moral laxity among the people.

Anderson corroborated the tradition of the earthquake and associated physical disturbances as accounting for the cause of the Delawares instituting the Big House Ceremony. He added that there was a tradition of falling stars occurring during the disturbance and also a tornado.[4] Anderson expressed the feeling of the Delawares that the performance of the Big House Ceremony was intended to avert physical catastrophes, saying that upon several occasions in the past the ceremony had been performed after a tornado in the country to preserve the people from another such visitation of anger on the part of the Creator.

It might be expected that the performance of the Big House Ceremony when sponsored by the Tortoise ceremonial group would differ in some of its particulars from what we have previously recorded. This investigation will undoubtedly have to be considered and it will be possible to do so should the Big House Ceremony ever be repeated by Frank Wilson who is a member of the Tortoise group.

Among the notes of information which Anderson made to extend our knowledge of details of the Big House Ceremony, [114] he called attention to an error in the color plate illustrating the interior of the Big House while one of the dances of vision recitation was in progress, in Harrington's monograph on Delaware ceremonies (*op. cit.* Pl. 6). The color plate shows the people in the Big House seated while the dance and recitation are going on. Anderson pointed out that the audience should be shown standing during the dance-recitation.

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[4] *Gaw'xəs*, "whirlwind, tornado." Smaller gusts of whirling wind without the character of the preceding are called *owi·alaz'i·u* in Delaware.

DUALOGY OF SYMBOLISM IN THE BIG HOUSE RITE

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In my former study of the Big House Ceremony I did not become aware of the significance that seemed attached to the fact that upon the center-post of the structure there were two faces carved on opposite sides, one facing the east, the other the west, and that also there were two fires, one on the east, the other on the west side of the center-post. These are evident symbols of duality and it becomes plausible to suspect, as did Dr. P. W. Schmidt, that the symbolism of duality in these features of the Big House might refer to sun and moon worship. Dr. Schmidt, in correspondence with me, also suggests that the two fires may represent the luminaries, and the double image representations on the center post a dual personality vested in the Supreme Being idea which in turn he proposes may be a fusion of the male and female concepts as tribal progenitors (Stammeselternpaar). We lack, however, supporting native testimony for the establishment of Dr. Schmidt's elucidation of a historical background for these mysterious symbols so far as the Delawares are specifically concerned.[7]

I was unable to take up this question with Delaware informants before the publication of my earlier study but since that time I have had an opportunity to discuss the point with Anderson. While he was unable to speak in positive terms of the dual symbolism of the two fires, two center-post images, two doors of the Big House, two paints, red and black, on the carved images, he offered a rationalization in attempting to explain the matter. This I consider extremely well worth reproducing as an example of Delaware explanatory thought on a point concerning which tradition in the tribe is not definite enough to be canonical. Our own speculation on the matter, when such fails to coincide with speculative attempts of the natives who themselves *profess* the principles of the religion in question, can hardly be considered as having equal weight with theirs.

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[7] See also Dr. P. W. Schmidt, "High Gods in North America, Oxford, 1933," for a scholar's insight into the comparative history of Algonkian concepts of deity and religious systems, summarizing part of Vol. 5 of his earlier monumental contribution; Die Ursprung der Göttesidee, Münster, 1929.

x796 I would accordingly present Anderson's explanation of the
772 dual principle in Delaware ritual as being connected with the
831 division of sex in the realm of life. Anderson pointed out that the balancing of functions between the male and female elements of human society was implied in the Delaware ritual performance. He began by referring to the requirement that there be an equal number of male and female attendants in service during the ceremony; that the duties of the females should coincide with and supplement those of the males; that one fire, theoretically, was in charge of the female attendants and represented their contribution to the worship, the other the males; that a similar division extended through the Big House, one door and the image on the center-post facing that door "belonging" to the men, the other, the opposite to women. He also pointed out in explaining the principle of dualism that when the attendants swept the dancing path encircling the two fires after each dance performance to purify it, with the turkey wing fans, a male attendant starts sweeping from the west door toward the east door and a female from the east door to the west door on the opposite side; that when the east door is reached by the male attendant sweeper and the west door by the female attendant sweeper, each places the fan-sweeper in a crevice in the logs above the door where he or she stops. Furthermore, at the conclusion of the next dance when the sweeping is repeated for the same purpose of purification, the male attendant sweeps his half of the dance path with the fan previously used by the female and leaves this in the logs above the door on her side. She does the same with the fan left over her door by the male attendant the time before. Thus the two fans are relayed by men and women attendants successively on opposite sides of the Big House after each dance. One of the fans, moreover, is associated with male attendants, the other with the female. Anderson used this illustration to bring out his idea as implied from the teaching of the old people that while there was no definite doctrine of sexual duality taught in the Big House, that the same might be implied as a hypothesis. He pointed out another fact in demonstrating this likelihood which is

clearly evident on the surface, namely that the two forked 796x
drum sticks, those of highly ceremonial significance used only 772
from the ninth night of the ceremony to the end, bear carvings 831
of human heads, a male on one, a female on the other, the latter having also the representation of female breasts below the face. This leaves no doubt of latent trend of thought in the basic symbolism of duality based upon sex in Delaware. The two drum sticks in question are definitely designated male and female.

I might mention also another piece of native reasoning 796x
along the same line in explanation of the black and red half- 772
painting which is so characteristic of Delaware sacred coloring. 831
It has been assumed and with good reason that these colors 822
represent the states of life and death, respectively red and black. I would not discard this theory since it is one present in the minds of some Delawares, but would rather find an explanation for the confusion in idea of the black and red symbols as an overlapping of several vaguely fused symbolisms; one designating sex, the other life and death. The whole question, as it now stands, amounts to a problem of symbol interpretation in Delaware religion in which the supposition of sexual duality must be given primary consideration.

Reverting for a moment to Anderson's explanation of the 796x
two fire, two door, two center-post image peculiarity in the 772
Big House arrangement, it should not be inferred that he 831
intended to point out that these were exclusively or definitely sexual segregations or that they reflected duality in the conception of deity. He also wished especially to avoid fixing the idea that the two center-post images represented the Creator. He tried to make clear that the two branches of service represented by the men and women worshippers were made convenient and kept separate in accordance with the division into male and female functions by the dual arrangements just noted.

The whole question of sex differentiation in Delaware religion and natural thought is one which may have to be worked out through evidences beneath the surface, perhaps in almost forgotten but deeply significant principles of thought,

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Ceremony	Function	Spirit Force Addressed
1. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Bear Rite	To immunize against sickness caused by Bear	Bear
2. Grease Drinking Ceremony; Otter Rite	To immunize against sickness caused by Otter	Otter
3. Mask Dance Ceremony	To avert sickness caused by Face-Image spirit and to aid deer hunting and agriculture	Mask Spirit, Corn (mother or grandmother)
4. Opossum Dance	To satisfy the guardian spirit of opossums	Opossum
5. Doll Dance	To appease ill-will of spirit of corn and avert sickness	Human Images (dolls)
6. Buffalo Dance	To overcome buffalo	Buffalo
7. Spring Football Ceremony	To promote and protect growth of crops	Creator (father), Sun (elder brother) and Thunders (grandfathers)
8. Corn Harvest Ceremony	Thanksgiving, appeal for health and abundance	Creator (Father), Corn (mother or grandmother)
9. Social, or "Stomp" Dances	Amusement, social assembly	None specified
10. Big House Ceremony (Ga'mwiŋ)	To avert, (a) destruction of world; (b) national catastrophe and sickness; (c) to unify the people	Creator and entire pantheon

[facing p. 26(A)]

THE FAMILY FEAST IN GENERAL

The gradation of ceremonies among the Delawares seems 796x to lend itself to an arrangement along the following lines:

(*a*) individual rites; (*b*) family rites accompanied by feasting; (*c*) rites managed by the ceremonial group (Turkey, Tortoise, Wolf); (*d*) the periodic tribal ceremony managed by one of the three groups.

I presume that a supposition may even be entertained in support of the theory that these festivals developed in the order given, with the exception that in the case of the individual and family rite (*a*) and (*b*) it would be quite impossible to separate them. The general pattern as outlined previously (page 10) appears to pervade most of these performances but in particular stands out as the order of procedure ruling the family feasts. There is significance in this as respects the fundamental type of ceremony which the Delawares may be accused of favoring in the course of their religious history. Accordingly since the family feast pattern betrays its presence in others of the series as given above, the student of comparative religious functions may be excused for placing it upon record as the stamp of Delaware procedure in his attempt to give it place in the series of religious rites observed among the Indians of North America. I would refer to several remarks made in the introduction to this study concerning the position of the family feasts among the Delawares. That a similar impression is to be gleaned from the records of missionary authorities is evident. Zeisberger who knew the Delawares so long and so intimately has something to say on this point and I consider his paragraphs of sufficient importance to quote them.

> "In the matter of sacrifice, relationship, even though distant, is of significance, legitimate or illegitimate relationship being regarded without distinction. A sacrifice is offered by a family, with its entire relationship, once in two years. Others, even the inhabitants of other towns, are invited. Such sacrifices are commonly held in autumn, rarely in winter

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orce Addressed	Origin	Procedure
	From release of captive Bear (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking grease and fea meat
	From release of captive Otter (myth)	Recitation of visions, drinking of grease an hog meat
it, Corn (mother or ther)	Obligation imposed by Spirit (myth)	Solo mask dance, eating corn foods
	Dream injunction (myth)	Imitative of opossum, and recitation of d hostess
ages (dolls)	Children's familiarity with corn mask dolls causing illness (myth)	Six men's, six women's dance songs, feast and corn foods, prayer-call facing east, t corn-bread images of human being and bear, offering
	None specified	Imitative of buffalo, circling, shoving
(father), Sun (elder and Thunders thers)	Mandatory by custom	Prayer, thanksgiving followed by dance, fol football game between men and women
(Father), Corn or grandmother)	Mythical corn famine, rite mandatory by custom	Day: Thanksgiving address by leader, d masked men, alternating with women's dan Night: Social dances, feast of corn foods, fi around drummers and singers
cified	None specified	Circling column in trot, contraclockwis motions, varied mimicry
nd entire pantheon	Ceremony revealed to tribe after mythical earthquake, tornado and volcano,—destruction of world	Recitation of visions with dancing aroun and praying, discourses and feasting fo nights; ceremonial hunt and mask danc morning; ninth night, new fire made, an call to creator, incense burned, wampum con and sacrifice, repainting images, corn-f meat feast; twelfth night "beginners" and rehearsal of vision recitation, fire allowed t ninth morning, dance around center-post prayer-call with prayer-sticks; wampum sa

[Facing p. 26(B)]

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SUMMARY OF DELAW

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CEDURE	CEREMONIAL HOST	PARTICIPANTS	
ıking grease and feast of bear	Wolf division, head of family, self-appointed	Family of legendary hero and guests, no women	Bi
nking of grease and feast of	Oldest survivor of family concerned with legend	Family of legendary originator and guests, men and women	Sp
corn foods	Owner of mask, or person calling for rite as cure for sickness or scared after dreaming of mask	No restrictions	Ar e
ınd recitation of dream by	Female who inherits obligation	Female dance volunteers, singers, members of hostess's father's group	W.
dance songs, feast of meat -call facing east, tossing up nan being and bear, wampum	Families owning dolls descended from original children doll-makers; leader an invited chief with male and female assistants	Families owning dolls; unrestricted guests	Ar
ing, shoving	Not specified	Volunteers, no limitations	Wl
owed by dance, followed by nen and women	Chief of ceremonial group, Wolf, Tortoise, Turkey	No restrictions	An s
lress by leader, dance by g with women's dance st of corn foods, final dance ingers	Chosen (hereditary?)	No restrictions	An
ot, contraclockwise; hand ,	Appointed leaders	No limitations; free attendance	Co ir
ith dancing around images s and feasting for twelve t and mask dance, fourth new fire made, and prayer- urned, wampum consecration ng images, corn-food and it "beginners" and women's ation, fire allowed to go out; around center-post images, sticks; wampum sacrifice	Individual of Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise group who assumes sponsorship, supported by his group and twelve "attendants"	Sponsor's group, and other two groups as collaborators	An n n

[facing p. 26(c)]

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ARY OF DELAWARE RITES AND FEASTS

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IPANTS	TIME HELD	DURATION	LOCA
dary hero and nen	Biennial	One night	Rectangular br
dary originator n and women	Spring, biennial	One or more days	Outdoors on pr
	Annually in autumn at beginning of hunting season	One night	Not specified
olunteers, sing- of hostess's	When called annually (?)	One night	Outdoor (?) dan
g dolls; unre-	Annually in fall	One night until sunrise	Outdoors on pre
imitations	When decided and called	All day	Outdoor dance c
	Annually in spring until midsummer end of June	Dancing several nights at end of each week, football game day following	Outdoors on pre
	Annually at corn harvest time	Day and night	Outdoors on pre
ree attendance	Conclusion of formal rites, or informally when called	All or part of night	Indoor or outdoo
and other two borators	Annually in fall (Oct.) (formerly by tradition every month)	Twelve nights, with rites on fourth and thirteenth days	In permanent cer ture (the Big E images of Creat lesser deities, an adjacent

[Facing p. 26(D)]

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Location	Musical Accompaniment	Supplies and Para
Rectangular brush house	Turtle hand-rattle	Wampum string for bear's meat, and bear's head (now
Outdoors on prepared ground	Turtle hand-rattle	Otter skin pendant on back o and steel fire tools
Not specified	Deer-hide drum, snapping turtle rattle by mask dancer	Red and black wooden mas leggings, bag, staff, corn payment
Outdoor (?) dance oval	Water-drum and rattle	Wampum paid to singer
Outdoors on prepared ground	Deer-hide drum with turtle-rattles	Dressed male and female do red, wampum to pay lead beef and hog meat, hominy,
Outdoor dance circle	Deer-hide drum	Buffalo horn head band, hom
Outdoors on prepared ground	(?)	Football of deer-hair and goal
Outdoors on prepared ground	Drums and rattles	Masks, corn husk covering, c
Indoor or outdoor circle	None required	Native costume urged
In permanent ceremonial structure (the Big House), before images of Creator and twelve lesser deities, and on grounds adjacent	Hide-drum, turtle hand-rattles	Wooden mask, corn-morta mussel-shell spoons, red strings and beads, prayer-sti sticks, turkey-wing fans, fire corn foods, cedar incense

[Facing p.26(E)]

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Supplies and Paraphernalia	Ceremonial Units
m string for bear's head, baskets of and bear's head (now hog's head)	Eat-all feast of bear's meat, vision recitation
in pendant on back of song leader, flint sel fire tools	Dream recitation, kindling new fire, feasting on hog flesh and grease
d black wooden mask, bear-skin coat, p, bag, staff, corn foods, wampum nt	Mask-clown dance, sermon, supplication, feast, social dances (mask-dancer also admitted to Big House Ceremony)
m paid to singer	Dream recitation, feast, sermon, social dances
male and female dolls, faces painted ampum to pay leader and assistants, d hog meat, hominy, cornbread	Song-dance, feast, sermon, social dances, extinguishing fire, cornbread image sacrifices
horn head band, hominy pot for feast	Imitative dancing
of deer-hair and goals	Round dances, prayer, thanksgiving; football game between sexes with wagering
corn husk covering, corn foods	Prayer, thanksgiving, masked dance, corn-food feast, social dances, Drunken dances
ostume urged	No ritual
mask, corn-mortar, bark dishes, shell spoons, red paint, wampum and beads, prayer-sticks, carved drum turkey-wing fans, fire-drill, deer meat, ods, cedar incense	Capitulates events of annual ceremonial cycle; vision recitation, sermons and prayers; corn-food and meat feasting, sacred hunt, mask-clown dancing; new fire rite; formerly sweat-bath rite; wampum sacrifice; purification,—sweeping of white-path; painting rite; cedar incense rite; paint annointment rite; no social dances; informal games during day intervals

[facing p.26(F)]

x776 since it is only hinted at in deliberate explanation by the
772 people of today, though preserved in the equipment and
831 furnishings of their worship.

An arrangement of symbols and functions associated with sex in Delaware thought could be shown as follows.

<table>
<tr><th>MALE</th><th>FEMALE</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">ABSTRACT ASSOCIATIONS</td></tr>
<tr><td>The color red</td><td>The color black</td></tr>
<tr><td>life</td><td>death (the beyond)</td></tr>
<tr><td>east</td><td>west</td></tr>
<tr><td>day</td><td>night</td></tr>
<tr><td>right-hand side</td><td>left-hand side</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">BIG HOUSE ASSOCIATIONS</td></tr>
<tr><td>East half</td><td>West half [a]</td></tr>
<tr><td>east door</td><td>west door</td></tr>
<tr><td>east fire</td><td>west fire</td></tr>
<tr><td>image of Great Spirit on east side of center post</td><td>image of Great Spirit on west side of center post</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">FUNCTIONS AND PRIVILEGES</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Balanced participation in all rites and dances</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Balanced ritual and dance leadership (approximate)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Balanced sponsorship of ceremonies</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Balanced performance of offices as "attendants" (*a'chas*)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Balanced dance-path sweeping</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Balanced reception of "payment" (sacrifice) of wampum for ceremonial services</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Balanced control of ceremonial equipment in east and west sides of Big House</td></tr>
<tr><td>Conducting ceremonial hunt (symbol of animal economy as male sphere)</td><td>Preparing ceremonial foods (symbol of plant economy as female sphere)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Singing and praying aloud</td><td>Silent supplication</td></tr>
<tr><td>Giving ceremonial prayer-call</td><td>Occasionally giving prayer-call</td></tr>
<tr><td>Controling harvest rite (Corn Harvest Ceremony)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Dancing on outside of dance column in Big House (inside in Doll Dance and Buffalo Dance)</td><td>Dancing on inside of dance column in Big House (outside in Doll Dance and Buffalo Dance)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Formal recitation of visions</td><td>Recitation allowed only on last day of Big House Ceremony</td></tr>
<tr><td>Use of musical instruments (hide-drum and rattle)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Moral "purity" during ceremonial periods</td><td>Moral and catamenial "purity" during ceremonial periods</td></tr>
</table>

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[a] Dichotomy of sex in the seating arrangements during ceremonies in the Big House is subordinated to the classified grouping of the ceremonial divisions, Turkey, Wolf, Tortoise, and secondarily to which of the three groups is sponsoring the celebration.

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796 **As their connections are large, each Indian will have opportunity to attend more than one family sacrifice a year. The head of the family knows the time and he must provide for everything. When the head of such a family is converted, he gets into difficulty because his friends will not give him peace until he has designated some one to take his place in the arrangement for sacrificial feasts.**

"A feast is held in honor of fire which the Indians regard as being their grandfather and call *Machtursin* meaning 'to perspire.' A sweating-oven is built of twelve poles each a different kind of wood, these represent twelve Manittos. Twelve large stones are heated and placed inside then twelve Indians enter the sweating-oven where they make an offering of tobacco by throwing it upon the stones, this may also be accompanied by singing. Also during this feast a whole buckskin is erected upon a pole before which the Indians pray and sing. They claim that they worship God in this manner, not the buck.

"At these feasts there are never less than four servants to each of whom a fathom of wampum is given that they may care for all necessary things. They have leave to secure the best of provisions and sell them to spectators. Festivals are usually closed with a general drinking bout. There are always rum-sellers present on such occasions who make large profits. As a result of the drinking there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity afforded by these occasions."[1]

In addition to what has just been quoted in regard to family feasts, we learn of another Delaware custom recorded in a source which does not, however, definitely give its origin. Mombert[2] states that at the time of first fruits a feast was prepared at which the fattest buck obtainable was burned. In this rite they took care not to break any of the creature's bones but carefully gathered and buried them.

In the accounts of contemporary ceremonies which we have from the Delawares of Oklahoma, and even from the Munsee of Canada on the authority of Harrington and the source of which he quotes, the family feast still retains its prominence. In one case the family feast becomes a part of the funeral rite; in another it functions in the curing of disease; in another to avert sickness or the menace of sickness inherited within a family; in another to bring blessing upon the family and its associates. The family feast is unquestionably a canonized ritual in the operation of Delaware religion. Not so much can be said incidentally of the so-called clan feasts or preferably those of the ceremonial group in this tribe. The rites of the latter type appear to have reached greater prominence among the Central Algonkian peoples as we learn from several sources (Michelson, Hoffman, Densmore, Skinner, Bloomfield). It is, therefore, with some emphasis that the several following accounts of ceremonies inherited within more or less definite family groups are offered as examples of type performances in Delaware religion.

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[1] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-9.

[2] J. G. Mombert, "History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," 1869, p. 15.

THE GREASE DRINKING CEREMONY, THE BEAR RITE

x 796 *A·ˈkq'cə·i·k·a'wan*, "brush shed or arbor". The name is derived from the roofed shed in which several accounts tell us the rite was celebrated. Harrington gives the title "*Papasokwi"lun*", without offering an explanation of the term. Its proper form is *pəpa''suk·wi·'hil·an*, "they rise up and take part", meaning that the men invited to assist the bringer-in of the ceremony do so by reciting their visions, as is done in the Big House. This term is not exclusively applicable to the Bear or Brush Arbor rite but denotes any of the feasts of the usual Delaware pattern in which the men who have had visions take part in the ritual to bring on the spiritual blessings as an aid to the purpose of the owner of the ceremony. Furthermore the term given by Parks for the Bear ceremony, "undah ah-ke wunnumong," properly *e'nda axki·kən·u'muwaŋg*, "when they engage in trials of spiritual experiences," also applies, as does the preceding term, to family feasts of the general Delaware pattern emphasized long ago by Zeisberger whose description is quoted in the introductory section.

I am treating this ceremony as a definite rite intended for the placation of the bear. Everything in the several accounts of the rite that we have points to this manifest purpose, yet some uncertainty prevails in the minds of several authorities in regard to discrepancies in the details of performance in the memory of those who have contributed accounts. At present, I should incline to regard the variant descriptions as referring to different phases of the ceremony. In view of the differences, not to force Wi·tapano'xwe's version as having final and exclusive identity, as he records it, I have included in footnotes the quotations of those whose versions differ.[1]

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[173] [1] Harrington (*op. cit.*, p. 172) gives the traditional origin of the ceremony as follows: "The Indians say that a cub bear, kept by a Lenape family long ago, became a great playmate of the little sons of the family, but finally grew so large

The tale in which a bear figures as the character influencing 776x the social or religious destinies of a family is common throughout the eastern Algonkian area. Its present recorded range of

that the child's parents decided to get rid of it; so they tied a little bag of tobacco [773] around its neck and told it to go away. This it did, but the little boy, its playmate, soon fell ill, and his parents searched in vain for a cure. After a long while one of the Indian doctors told his parents that if they would hold a ceremony of this kind and repeat it every two years, the child would keep his health. This was done; the boy recovered, and his family, who belong to the Wolf phratry, have continued to practise the rites ever since, believing that it preserves their health."

The following version was obtained from Mr. J. A. Parks, Copan, Oklahoma, in 1930, through correspondence.

"The bear ceremony is mentioned by Harrington in his work on the 'Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape.' Harrington's account is more or less correct. However, in this respect it is wrong: it is the *Otter* Ceremony which is held in the brush arbor, and not the *Bear* Ceremony. The writer saw the bear ceremony held at the home of Colonel Jackson, who was chief of the Turkey Clan, about thirty-five years ago.

"The leader of the ceremony takes the turtle-shell rattle in his hand and walks slowly around the fire (Pl. 2). As he goes along, he shakes the shell rattle and sings or chants an account of some vision he has at some time in his life experienced. At the same time, an attendant goes to the brass kettle hanging on the fire pole, which contains pure grease; he dips up some of the grease with a cup, and pours it into the pail held in his left hand. Then he goes in the opposite direction to that of the man singing and shaking the rattle. When they meet, the attendant hands the singer a cup full of the grease, who drinks a little of it and pours the rest into the fire, or, he may, if he should see some one among those present whose father was or is a member of the same clan as his father, take the cup of grease and give it to her or him, who then must drink a little of the grease and pour the rest in the fire. The party whom he obliges to do that might happen to be some bashful young boy or girl, who is, of course, abashed, which causes amusement and laughter.

"After this, the singer goes on with his walk and chant; the attendant moves in the opposite direction and, when they meet again, the same performance is repeated. When that man has finished, another man takes the shell and goes through the same performance, and so on, one after another, until all of the men who care to take part have taken part."

(A water-color painting of this rite by Mr. Parks, the author of the above notes, is in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. See Pl. 2.)

Unfortunately, Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 136) devotes but little more than a single sentence to what is possibly a reference to the ceremony in question. He writes: "At another feast, a certain voracious spirit who is never satisfied is honored. The guests are required to eat all the bear's flesh and to drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything."

Heckewelder (*op. cit.*, p. 212) says: "There are even some animals, which though they are not considered as invested with power over them, yet are believed to be placed as guardians over their lives; and of course entitled to some notice and to some tokens of gratitude."

x 796 distribution embraces the Wabanaki peoples where the bear episode reaches a high point of importance as a social explanatory tale. Here the tale concerns a child, lost by its parents, abducted by a she-bear who nourishes the foundling for almost a year before traces are found leading to its recovery and to the death of the bear foster-mother, but not until the bear has imposed the taboo of never killing she-bears upon the restored child and his descendants. The Wabanaki peoples seem, however, never to have developed the cult of the bear among the posterity of the hero of the tale. The Delawares did, and this, together with the identical tale of abduction, makes the Delaware case most interesting from the point of view of historical interpretation.[8]

Without attempting to deal with the possibilities of theory in the case of this tale and its associations in the northeast, we may proceed to assemble the Delaware information. It begins with the narrative of the Bear Abductor [9] to account for the association formed between the bear and a certain human family in which is passed down the obligation to perform a rite called the Brush Arbor ceremony by some, the Bear Ceremony by others.

In explanation of the ceremony and its history among the

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[8] The distribution of an essentially similar tale throughout Europe and Asia not as a mythical narrative but as an historical event of contemporary reality would make an interesting theme for study. For instance, as late as the Sept. 30, 1931, issue of the *Boston Herald* it is reported as an actual occurrence in Russia.

[773] [9] A small boy lost in the woods was found by a woman with two children who took him home. She proved to be a bear with cubs who lived in a tree-trunk. When finally discovered and rescued by the people the boy had acquired some ursine habits. The she-bear was killed but the cubs were raised as pets. When they grew large they were released with a wampum string around their necks to dissolve the relationship between owner and pet lest calamity befall. A ceremony of release from possible sickness was thus founded which continued in the family of the little boy.

The first portion of the tale is told by R. C. Adams ("Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, 1905, pp. 61-3) in a somewhat embellished form. A full version of this significant tradition is again part of a collection obtained recently from the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations, Ontario, during investigation carried out by the writer through a grant of the Faculty Research Fund, Univ. of Penna. Here it is also an important historical myth, though it is not connected with the foundation of a cult festival as in the case under consideration among the Oklahoma Delawares. Where and when did the latter incorporate the feature of a family feast-rite into the ancient narrated event?

Delawares, Wi·tapano'xwe wrote out the following abstract 796^{x}
which adds some points to what he dictated in text.

> "This is an individual religious rite which is taken from raising pets 796^{x}
> such as pet bears and other animals. The last of these brush arbors was 825
> kept up by the Wolf Clan until about thirty years ago. However, this 231
> was only kept up by certain families, a chain of relationship having existed among several families. One, I remember, was a Delaware by the name of John Jim John, (*kaxpes·i·'no* 'Twin-man') and his sister, Mrs. Frenchman. While still living in Kansas this family had a pet bear. Upon freeing a pet bear, after it had grown up, it has always been the custom to put a yard of wampum around the neck of the animal and go through a ceremony. At this time the people talk to the bear and tell the animal that he is now at liberty and he should no longer obligate himself to the family. Unless this is done, some illness or evil fate might befall some member of the family. Oftentimes these facts are found out from the medicine man, who is said to be able to find out these things through the power of his supreme guardian, or through the medium of that animal, thing, or object that blessed him in a dream during childhood. Sometimes that animal, thing, or object may have spoken to him and told him 'At a certain time in your life you must feed them or give a feast in memory of your own experience, or a plague would be brought onto you or your children.'"

For the details of procedure of this long-obsolete ceremony, 796^{x}
I am obliged to quote Harrington's (*op. cit.*, pp. 172–5) description, since Wi·tapano'xwe did not possess a sufficiently explicit version in his ceremonial repertoire.

> "This ceremony required a special house, which was made new for it every two years, so the first thing a family did when the time approached, was to find a number of men, each of whom was paid a yard of wampum to cut forks and poles and erect the building. This was made by setting up a frame of poles in form of a Big House, but smaller, only seven paces wide and fifteen paces long, then covering the top with brush and piling brush at the sides. Then to the east of the house a pole was erected upon which to hang the meat for the feast, which, in old times, had to be a bear; but when the bears became scarce a black hog was substituted, and of late a hog of any color has been used. The building finished, the hog was killed, and, having been hung on a pole over night, was taken into the house the next day, quartered, singed on a fire that had been built inside, then carried out again, cut up, and cooked, all except the loose fat, which was kept for a special purpose, as will appear later. When done, the meat was kept in large baskets, with the exception of the head, which, having been cooked whole, was placed in a large bowl with two animal's ribs in its mouth.

X-796

> "When night came, the leader entered the brush house, taking with him a turtle rattle similar to that used in the Annual Ceremony, followed by the men who were to participate (no women being allowed), and then made a speech, telling of the men who had 'brought in' this meeting, and explaining its origin, but making no prayers to the Great Spirit or to any of the manitowuk, his helpers. He then threw half of the hog-fat upon the fire, and placed a string of wampum around his own neck. At this juncture the cook brought him the hog's head in its bowl, and then first announcing, 'I am now going to carry the head around,' the leader began to chant and to walk about the house, making false motions to everyone as if to give him the head, then withdrawing and proceeding to the next. The burden of the chant, the Indians say, was 'what the dream helper told him,' very much as in the Big House, but here the people kept time to his chant orally, saying 'Hu-hu-hu!' until he stopped. The informant does not know who, if any one, shook the rattle. Probably it was employed by the singers after the burning of the head. After making the circuit twice, the leader hung his string of wampum upon some old man of the Turkey phratry who had a 'vision of power,' who took the head, pulled the ribs from its mouth, and threw it into the fire, bowl and all. The meat was then distributed to everyone, whereupon the floor was open to any man who wished to sing an account of his vision. A bucket of prepared drink was placed at each end of the house for refreshment of such singers, but the head, of course, was gone. When the songs were finished, the remainder of the fat, and finally the broth in which the meat had been cooked, were thrown upon the fire, and in conclusion, six women were called in and instructed to go out and give six times the prayer cry, 'Ho-o-o!'"

We have this additional detail furnished by Half Moon in regard to the service performed by the owner of the ceremony. It is his prerogative to pour a cup full of grease from the supply pail to be drunk by each of the guests in turn. Every time he pours out a portion in going the rounds, he takes his tortoise-shell rattle and chants his vision as he would do in the Big House ceremony. When all present have been served with grease he takes up the head of the pig or, as we are given to understand, the head of the bear which the original rules of the ceremony call for, and dances around the fire with it while singing. Then he throws the whole of it, including the pan in which it was carried, into the fire to be completely burned up. The occasion, however, did not prevent it being pulled out of the fire and saved by some one who wanted to do it.

ORIGIN LEGEND OF BEAR OR BRUSH ARBOR CEREMONY 796ˣ

Lɔ'mwe nɔtci· wendausi·'eŋgʷ kwut·enau''ki la•'ke- 539
Long ago since beginning of our life one kind cere- 773

yɔk·αn lowe•'nhaŋgʷ e'nda wi·hi'lting ɔk
mony is said, so said when named [by the people] and

xa'n·e• lowenda's·u axką'ce·i·k·a'wαn. Yu'kwe kαn-
accordingly is called brush-shed. Now recent-

dju'kwe e'nda la'xauɔ'xən·e•k' yu·'li·ɫ keni·i·'
ly when at the forks these [rivers] Caney

si·'powa[4] na'ne' ta'li· taɔ'ŋgan e•'li· ne•'ki·k'
creeks there where was lost [the rite] because these

e•lhake''ti·t' ne'k·e lαk'hi·'k·wi· pɔlą'ci·ma•'na
conducting the ceremony at that time [it seems] Frenchman

wi·'taema't·tci· tal·ha'k·e•n. me•'tci· yu'kwe we•kwi·'-
his wife it was her ceremony. Now then they are

ne•yu'ŋga. Yu'kwe yu'ni· la•k·eyɔ'k·αn ni'·cenau''kat'
all dead now. Now this ceremony is divided into two parts

we'ndji·ki·ci·mgɔ't·ək. a'lənde lɔ'mwe awe•ni'ŋgaxke
from which it originated. Some long time ago persons now dead

i·'yap'tci· e'nda awe•'n ke'ko liŋgwe-
caused when creature-thing [appearing] in form

hel·alu'k·uk te•'kənaye's·a'. ɔk xa'ne• kwu't·en-
of vision as a wild animal. And although one kind

au''ki· e'nda oxtca'nənd' ma'xk'ʷtət'. me•'tci· e'nda
or form. when having a pet little bear. Now when

ki·ci·'ki·t' na'lu'we•n pα'k·i·tanehi·'ne•n wa'ni· talə-
full grown then it was said "Let us turn it free this our

mu·'s·əna tə't·a te•'kəne. me•'tci· ke•xu'k·wənak·e't·e
pet somewhere in the wilds." Now when it was full-grown

na' wi·xka'utci· tɔ'hi·'pa'ɫsi·n kwu't·i· mi·'mαs
then suddenly became sick one child

xkwe'tcətc. nace•' nen'pi·'k·e•s wendji·'mαn. e'nda
young woman, girl. Then sweat-doctor sent for. When

pə'n·dji·t' pi·mowa'k·aniŋ na' mɔ'xkámən təli·'
he entered sweat-house then it was discovered that

maiŋga'lkwun ne•'li·ɫ ɔ'xtcana's·a' na'
there was sympathetic relation between these pet, and then

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[4] Caney Creek; name borrowed from English.

x 776 lu'we•n   yu'kwe   hwtαk·i·'i·   pa•'t·ətc   nαtc'   pəmα't·un-
559 it was said   from here   backward   he came   then   to plead
773 ha•'lan,   ək   ke'ko   naxpa•'p'tunha•'lan   na'li''
spiritually.   And   whatever thing   they offer with prayer   they then
paxki·'tanehi·'n   te•'kəne.
turn [the animal] free   in the woods.

Ce•'la   hyu'ni·   la•p'tu'naxgat'   e'nda   pəmα't·un-
Because   that here   are the instructions   when   pleading spirit-
ha•'lənd'   te•kəna'yes   ge't·a   paxki·'lənd'
ually with   wild animal   in order to   prepare to secure aid from him
lo•'we•n.   ək   na li·   wi·'hil·a•n   e•lowe'si·t'.   "me•'tci·ta'
they say.   And   then   call him   by name.   "Now then
i'k·amaxte•'xαn   təli·'   me•'tci·   paxkandji·'ki·n.   me•'tci·
the time has come   that   now   you are full-grown.   Now
kəni·'hi·l·a't'amα   ce•'lahəne'n·i·   pe•'mi·te•'kəne•k.
you are at your maturity   this is what   your life has come to.
ngwi·s   nane''   kwu'ndji·ai·n   nane''   tə'p·i·n   ki·t'ha'k·e.
My son   there   you belong   where   dwells   your fellow tribesman.
yu'kwe   ce•la'yu'ki·k'   ke•'kək   k'naxpo•'xwe•n.
Here now   there these   wampum   you shall carry with you as you walk.
ək   tə'li·   kenaxki·'xkwun   tə't·a   e•'ləmuk·wəna'k·a
And   because   it will protect you   for   time to come
se•'kausi·yan.   pə'nae•'ləndamən   yu'kwe   yu'ni·   ni·'lo•na
as long as you live.   Consider now   now   this   given to us
mi·lkwu's·ieŋg•   wi·'ki·eŋg•   ək   pə'nae•ləma'ək   yu'ki·k
our gift   our home   and   think about them   these
ce•   xi·'s·əmus·αk'   ək   xą's·αk.   kα'tci·   na't·e•lə-
those   younger brothers   and   elder brothers.   Do not   worry
mi·'heŋg•   wu'ndji·   ma't·a   pe•'xosi·kako•'ne•n   ke'ko
about us   that if   not   we might be overcome   thing
mat·awe•'ltαk   cuk'   pə'nae'ləma   k'ha'k·ai·'   təli·'te
not good but evil   but   think of   yourself,   that will
ke•'p·e'   ik·ali'tci·   pe'tci·   əlama'lsi·n.   me•'tci·
yourself   in time to   come   you will enjoy health.   Now
te'p·i·lahα'p'a   e'nxa•p'tune•ya.
sufficient for now   what I have to say this time.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

THE LOST BOY ADOPTED BY A SHE-BEAR

776ˣ
539
773

e'nda	pi·laye'tcətc'	taɔ'ŋgalək'	ma'xko	nəno·ᵉ'nαk'.
When	boy	lost	bear	adopted.

ək	cəm'utc'	lɔ'mwe	mi·'mǫə	taɔ'ŋgαł	lowe·ᵉ'nhaŋgᵉ
And	also by the way	long ago	child	lost	it was said,

pi·laye'tcətc'	i·ya'p'tci·	e'nda	papi'xti·t'	mi·mǫ'sαk
boy	during	while	playing with	children

teᵉ'kəne'.	nanαkwu't·i·	wi·xka'utci·	namaᵉ'laᵉn	tɔ'li·
in woods.	Then one	suddenly	they noticed	that

ma't·a	wi·tc'kəneᵉ'wαn	te'xi·	ma't·a	nɔteᵉ'ləmayuwa'o
not	with the rest of them	really	not	pay attention to him

neᵉ'ki·k'	mi·mǫ's·αk.	meᵉ'tci·	e'nda	lɔ'kwi·k'	na'kə-
those	children.	Now	when	evening	it was

nəndj	hwi·'kayo'yəma	to'ləmatu'ni·keᵉneᵉ'yɔ	kwu't·i
then	his elders [parents]	they began to hunt	one

t'pu'kwe	la'p·i·	ɔ'p·aŋge	kwut·i·gi·'ckwe.
night	next	morning	all day.

xa'n·ki·	keᵉxu'kwuni·	naloweᵉ'n	"meᵉ'tci·	nu'tckwe
Finally	several days	it was said	"Now	useless

nat·ona'wəna'.	meᵉ'tci·	et'	aweᵉ'n	aye's·αᵉ·[4]	wuni'-
to search for him.	Now	evidently	creature	animal	he has been

hilaɔ'ŋgan."	mat·a kwun·i·'i·	neᵉ'li·	nut'xani·k·weᵉt'
killed by."	Not long afterward	while	hunting squirrels

kwu't·i·ski·'n·u	wi·xka'utci·	neᵉlo'xweᵉt'	laᵉmci'ŋge	na'
one young man	suddenly	while walking	in woods	then

wun·eᵉ'yən	aweᵉ'ni·k'	peᵉ'paᵉp'hat·i'xti·t'.	ahaləwi·'i·
saw	some creatures	playing about.	More and more

ki·'xki·	li·'	ki·mhɔ'k·e.	meᵉ'tci·	ki·'xkitci·	pa't·e
closely		secretly crept up.	Now	close by	coming

kekota'l·a	kwu't·i·	aweᵉ'n	lənaᵉ'p·e.	na təli·'	nαna'ən
here the thing was	one	person	human.	There as	he recognized him

nale't'ma	na'ni·	pi·'lətcətc'	kαn·dju'k·ʷᵉ	eᵉ'loweŋg
that it was	that	boy	recently	as said

taɔ'ŋgαł.	meᵉ'tci·	e'nda	ap·a'tci·t'	wi·'ki·t'	nani·'
was lost.	Now	when	he returned	home	then

ski·'n·u	na	təl·atci·'mwi·n.	lo'weᵉ	"i'k·ali·	e'nda
young man	then	he spread the news.	He said	"Down there	where

[4] Note that the animal is spoken of as a human being.

x796 539 xi'ŋgwi· ci'ŋge·k ne·'yɔ pe·wi'tci·pa·'pi·t' na'ni·
big forest I saw playing with him [a bear] that

773 pi·'laye'tcətc' e·'loweŋg taɔ'ŋgɑl." e'nda we·'ta'kən-
boy who was said to be lost." When he told his story

u't·iŋg lo'we· "xi'ŋgwi· nani· hi't·uk ɔk pohe·'s·u
and explained he said "Big the tree and hollow

a'hi· hukwe·'yuŋg na'ne kɑ'n·da p'kwu's·i·n." lowe·'
very high up there up where hole in tree." He said

"ngi·'mhəla'wɔk' na'ne nəwu'ndji· ga'ski· wuli·'ne·yən
"I crept up on him that is why I could well see him

cɑk' nama·'lkuk' ɔk ca·'i· pəndji·hil·e·'yuk
but they noticed me and right away they ran into the hole

hi't·'kuŋg." na' ca·'i· we·həm·a'ɔn kwi·'kayo'yəma.
the tree." Then right away they notified his old man [parent].

me·'tci· e'nda we·'mi· awe·'n we'u's·i·t' na' maye·'-
Now when every body knew of it then they called

ma·n lə'n·owak. na' ca·'e ik·alo'lti·n
together the men. Then right away there they all went

seka'kənd. na'lowe·n "me·'tci·ta wei·'tət'
last time seen at that spot. Then it was said, "Now it is expected that

kənup'ho'məna e·'li· kowato·'ne·n na'ni· nu'cae'həme *
we are in danger because we know that female bear with cubs

ma'xta·pe·'yɔ e'nda nuce·'i·t'."
very mean when she has young."

Me'tci· e'nda nama·'s·i·t' nani·' nu·caye'həme
Now when he noticed that female bear with cubs

na' ca·'e ika' wu'ndji a'ləmi li·xaxku·'s·i·n. e'nda
at once there from began to climb down. When

m'i·tci·'hi·l·a·t na' ca·'e ik·a'wundji pas·kwul·a'ɔn.
she came in sight right away from there shot her off the tree.

nace·' awe·'n aloka·'lan tə'li· kən·da'ku's·i·n hi't'-
And then some one they appointed to climb up on

kuŋg ɔk təli·' li·'xənʌ·n ne'li·ɫ pi·layetcə'tca'. ɔk
tree and to take down that boy. And

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* *ə'həme* generic term for "bear kind," or genus Ursus; *xi'ŋgwə'həme* "big bear," or male bear.

ənăhəli·′ weᵃ′mi· enxu′ceᵃt maxtə′t·a‘ na′ka ne′helənd 796ˣ
also all the litter little bears deceased killed 539
nu′cae‘meᵃ′yu. 773
mother bear.

e′nda hwtəki·i·′ peᵃ′cəwənd na′ni mi·′mǫs na‘
When back home they brought that child and
a‘ləmi·‘ ɔxtcaᵃ′naᵃn neᵃ′ki·k maxk‘ʷtə′tαk. mat·ak-
began to pet those little bears. Not so very
wəni·i·′ na̧‘ tələmi·′ atci·′mwi·n na′ni· pi·laye′tcətc.
long after then began telling his story the boy.
loweᵃ′hund “ni· ni·hila′tci də′l‘s·i·n da′tc‘iŋ xeᵃyɔ′k·an
He said they say “I myself was cause my disobedience
wundji· nhi·′lαnd na′ka ma′xko gahe′s·əna′na.”
why was killed defunct bear our mother.”
lo′weᵃ “keᵃxu′k·wuni· nəwi·′nowa′muk na′ka ma′xko
He said, “Several days she pleaded with me defunct bear
lo′weᵃ na′nen sɔ′k·i· məli·′mwi·n. də′luk‘ ‘ni·′tcan
she said that all the while cried. She said ‘my child
me′tci· ma′t·a kwun·i·′i· kənaᵃ′pənalke′hen·a cuk‘
now not long before they are coming upon us but
yu′kweaᵃ′ sa′kənəmα′ni· yu′ni skwɔ′nde ne′ni· ki·p‘
now if you raise up in sight in this entrance that your arrow
naᵃ yu′kwe ma′t·a ni·łkeᵃ′wαn.′ də′luk ‘alə′p·a‘
and here now not would kill me.’ She said, ‘tomorrow
neᵃ′sko paxa′k·weᵃk nαtc peᵃlti·n′ loweᵃ′. ako′ᵘ
before noon then they will be here,’ she said. Did not
ha′ci· djəp·i·na′o na′ni gahe′s·əna ɔk neᵃ′ki·k
never I discover what they were that one our mother and those
nəxi·′səmə′s·αk kαndj nayu′ ki·′ckwi·k nαtc nəmα′-
my brothers younger until this very day then they
xkaᵃkeᵃnen. ge′hel·a haŋgʷ ci·elə′ndam eᵃ′li nu′lax-
found us. Certainly as said I am sorry because I was well
tcaᵃ′huk ɔk nu′li·pənda′o e′nda ke′ko li·t‘ gaheᵃs·ə-
treated and I understood when something said our
na′na.”
mother.”

Nane‘ ki·′ckwi·k e′nda t‘ho′nαnd nain·′ pi·laye′-
That day when captured the boy

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tcətc hwtək·i·'i· peᵉcowaᵋ' wi·'ki·t ək nahəli·'
back home brought him his home and besides

neᵋ'ki·k' maxk'ʷtə'tɑk naceᵋ' a'ləmi· oxtcaᵋ'naᵉn
the little bears right away began to pet them

neᵋ'ki·k ma'xkək. xa'nt'ki· təli·' gi·ci·ki·neᵋ'yo.
the bears. And finally until full grown they were.

naloweᵋ'n me'tci· gi·'ci·kohaulana'nɑk yu'kwe kowaᵉ-
And it was said, "Now we have raised them now you

toᵘ'nen ci·kwi·neᵋ'yək takuᵘ' wəli·xənoᵘ'wi· tə'li·
know they are orphans it is not right that

pa'xki·tanihi·'neᵉn kɑndj hi'tami· pəmɑto'nhaᵉlə'nde.
we turn them loose until first we must perform a ceremony.

ək li·'xɑn təli'tc naxpaŋgomaᵋ'neᵉn na'ni·
And it is the rule that also we give with ceremony something of worth the

teᵉkəna'yes· ke'ko." naceᵋ' hukweni·hoᵘ'laᵉn weᵋ'mi·
wild animal something." And then they put around his neck all

enxi'xti·ti neᵋ'ki·k ma'xkək keᵋ'k'ʷ.
in number as the bears wampum.

"Metci· elaŋgoᵘ'məleŋ i'k·a peᵉteᵋ'ləmukoᵘ'neᵉn
"Now[1] our relation it has come our time

tə'li· mi·'lkwus·i·n ək hwtək·i·'i· mi·'l·ən·eᵉn ə'nda
to you to be given and back we give you when

ni·'hilatci· ni·hi·lat·əmaᵋ'n. cuk' wa'ni· ceᵉ xɑ̨'sowa
yourself your freedom. But this that your brother

pi·laye'tcətc nayu'ni· wundji·'aii·n. ki·lo'wa xan·eᵋ'
boy here he belongs. But you yourselves

muxomsa'xtuk' hwtəki·'i· teᵋ'kəne kta'ham·u eᵋ'li·
our grandfathers back in wilderness you are going because

na'ne wundji·a'yu k'ha'k·ai. ək kənaxpaŋgoᵋ'mələ'-
that is where you belong yourselves. And we give this ceremonially

n·eᵉn ni·lu'na lənaᵉpeᵋ'yɑk yu'ni· keᵋ'k'ʷ kut·eᵋ'haᵉn
to you we the Delawares this wampum your heart

maᵋ'mcaᵉli·e'ŋgwətc k'te'p·i· lu'weᵉ yutɑ'c·eᵉ do''pi·n
when you think of us you can say back here live

elaŋgoᵘ'mɑk. cuk ma't·ɑtc' tci·tc' peᵋ'xus·hi'k·ae-
my relatives. But do not any more approach us

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[1] This address is to the bears.

ho'məna eʻ'li· na'lən·e kəna'xpeʻləmu'k·un təli·'tc 776x
because that [wampum] will take care of you that 539

teʻ'kəne tala'usi·. ɔk ne'ni·ceʻ keʻ'k'ʷ keʻ'naxki·'- 775
in wilderness you must live. And that wampum will take care of

xpun ik·ali'tci· peʻ'tci· ɔ'lamalsi·'tun. ɔk
you [in sorrow] if you in future comes your guardian of health. And

əneʻ'pena wu'ndji ma't·a peʻxo'si·hik·ako'wəneʻn
we also henceforth not be overcome by

ke'ko ma't·a we'ltuk. me'tci· laha'p·a muxo'ʻmsa
anything not good. Now again grandfather

te'p·i· enxa'p'toʻne'ya wəlaŋgo'səwi· li·'. wani'ci·."
enough I have to say in friendship way. Thanks."

Free Translation.

A long time ago, in the beginning of our existence, there was one kind of ceremony, it is said, named by the people and called Brush Arbor. Now, in recent times, when the Delawares were living at the forks of Caney Creek, it was lost because of the master of ceremony who at the time was the wife of Frenchman whose ceremony it was. Now, they are all dead. Now, this ceremony is divided into two parts whence it originated. One being, long time ago, caused by persons, now dead, to whom a creature appeared in the form of a vision as a wild animal. And the other kind resulted from having a pet, a little bear. Now, when it was full grown it was said, "Let us turn our pet loose somewhere in the wilds." And when it was grown up suddenly a child, a young woman, became sick. Then the sweat doctor was sent for. When he entered the sweat-house it was discovered that there was a sympathetic relation between the two, the pet and the child and it was said that the pet was spiritually pleading with her. And that they should offer something with a prayer as a sacrifice and liberate the animal in the woods. For these are the instructions when pleading spiritually with a wild animal in order to secure aid from him, it is said, and then call him by name saying, "Now then the time has come when you are full grown. Now you are at your maturity which is what your life has developed into.

×796 My son, you belong there in the wilderness, where dwell 539 your kind. Now you shall carry this wampum as you go 773 along and that will protect you in the future as long as you live. Consider well now that our home is given to us as a natural gift and think about these younger and older brothers. Do not worry about us that we might be overcome by evil, but think of yourself that you yourself may in the future enjoy health. Now this is all I have to say at this time."

THE LOST BOY ADOPTED BY A SHE-BEAR

When the lost boy was adopted by a bear. And also long ago a child, it is said, was lost. It was a boy, while playing with children in the woods. Then one, they suddenly noticed was not with the rest of them. The other children had really paid no attention to him. Now, when it was evening his parents began to hunt for him, all night and the next day. Finally after several days it was said, "Now it is vain to search for him. Evidently some wild animal has killed him." Not long afterward, while hunting squirrels, a young man suddenly walking in the woods saw some creatures playing about. Closer and closer he crept up secretly. Now coming close by, there was the creature—a human being. There as he recognized him, seeing that it was the boy who was recently said to have been lost. Now when he returned home the young man spread the news. He said, "Down there where the big forest is, I saw playing together a bear and the boy said to have been lost." When he told his story and explained it he said, "There is a big tree there and a hollow very high up, a hole up there in the tree." Said he, "I crept up on him, that is how I could see him well. But they noticed me and ran back into the hole in the tree right away." Then at once they notified his parents. And when everybody knew of it they called the men together. Then they all went at once to the spot where he was seen the last time. Then it was said, "Now we expect to be in danger because we know that a female bear with cubs is very savage when she has young." Now, when the female bear noticed them, she at once began to climb down from where she was. When she came in sight they shot her off the tree at once and then

someone was induced to climb up into the tree that he might 796ˣ
bring down the boy, and also the litter of little bears of the 539
now dead mother bear they had killed. 773

Then they brought the child back home and made pets of the little bears. Not long after, then the boy proceeded to tell his story. It is told that he said, "I myself, through my disobedience, was the cause of the bear, our mother, being killed." He said, "Several times she pleaded with me, the dead bear, speaking while she cried. She said, 'My child, it will not be long before they come upon us. But now if you raise up your arrow in sight in the entrance here, they will not kill me.' She said, 'Tomorrow, before noon, they will be here.' I did not discover what they were, our mother and brothers (the bears) until the very day that they found us. Certainly, as one would say, I am sorry because I was well treated and I could understand when our mother (the bear) said anything."

From the day that the boy was captured and brought back to his home where he lived, together with the little bears, they began right away to make pets of the bears, and thenceforth until they were full grown. And then, it was said, "Now we have raised them, yet you know they are orphans and it is no right to turn them loose until first a ceremony of pleading has been performed. And it is the rule that we offer a worthy sacrifice to the wild animal with something. And then they put wampum around their necks, each one of the bears.

"Now, our relation, it has come to be our time that you be given back, when you yourself we give you freedom. But this boy, your brother, belongs here, but as for you yourselves, grandfathers, back into the wilderness you are going by yourselves. And we, the Delawares, offer this wampum to you ceremonially as your heart. When you think of us you can say, 'Back there live our relations.' But do not approach us any more because that wampum will take care of you in the future, in case sorrow comes, as your guardian of health. And henceforth, we also shall not be overcome by anything evil. Now, once again, grandfather, I have said enough in the way of friendship. Thanks!"

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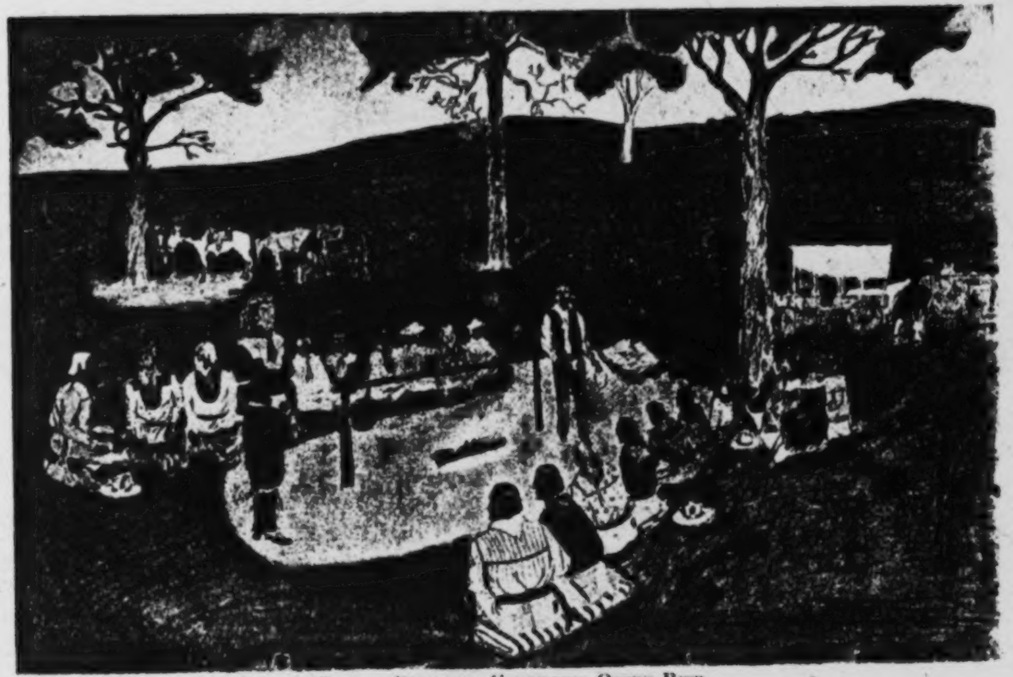
PLATE 2

[Facing p.44]



Grease Drinking Ceremony, Otter Rite.
(Painting by J. A. Parks, Delaware Indian, Wann, Okla., 1931.)

THE GREASE DRINKING CEREMONY
THE OTTER RITE

x796 A family ceremony and feast intended to avert evil tendencies of the otter is recorded in outline by Harrington.[1] To the ceremony he gives the title A''tcigamuʟtin, "compulsory hog eating." His description, which will shortly be quoted, is the only one that we have of the rite. The independent character of the ceremony is not clearly established by any information that we possess since there are no parallel accounts, nor was Wi·tapano'xwe conversant with its details. It seems to have been homologous in theory with that of the Bear Ceremony with the substitution of the otter as the creature invoked instead of the bear. In both rites the influence of a captive animal upon the health of its keeper is the starting point. The motive of both ceremonies is to release the individual from the menace of ill health and misfortune arising out of their association. As for the details of procedure the employment of an emblem of the animal throughout the ceremony, in this case the skin of the otter, is a noteworthy feature. The invitation to members of the opposite ceremonial group; the sermon of supplication to the animal for immunity from misfortune and ill health; the recitation of visions by the old men; and the termination of the performance in a general feast in which grease drinking is prominent and in which the animal addressed is considered as an honored guest, form the elements of the ceremonial pattern.

Some question arises as to details of equipment. Harrington is not explicit as to whether the performance was in the open or under a brush arbor. The informant, Parks, affirms the latter. The only other particulars for it must be sought in Harrington's description obtained in 1907 to 1910. Wi·tapano'xwe added his idea that the ceremony was intended
[825 more for men of warlike habits imbued with the purpose of

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[1] Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-2.

increasing their spiritual strength in accordance with the belief that the otter was the most powerful of the water animals. It was his understanding also that the rite was included under the name of *azki·'kənumuwaŋg* "they engage in trials of spiritual experience." In view of the importance of grease drinking in the otter rite which was a prerogative of men of strength, he thought it might have been called *ənda pəmi·'numu'heng*, "when grease they drink."

Since the ceremony was undoubtedly an event in the religious calendar of the Delawares it should be capitalized for future investigation. Harrington's description follows.

"Similar to the Bear Ceremony in many ways, both in traditional origin and its rites, was the observance called *A''tcigamu'ttin*, said to mean 'compulsory hog-eating,' held to propitiate the Otter spirit, a cult whose paraphernalia the writer was fortunate enough to collect for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

"Many years ago, so runs the story, a little girl about ten years of age was given a young otter for a pet, and this she kept and cared for until it was well grown. About that time she began to feel that she should keep him no longer, for she had come to realize that he was *pi''lsun*, meaning 'pure' or 'sacred,' and, like all wild things belonged to the Powers Above. The old people told her what she must do, so she took her otter down to the creek, and, first tying a little bag of tobacco on his neck, said to him: 'Now I shall set you free. I have raised you and cared for you until you are now full grown. Go then, and follow the ways of your kind.'

"The otter disappeared into the waters, and the little girl returned to her home, feeling that she had done well. But before a year had passed, a sickness came upon her, which the Indian doctors told her was caused by her pet otter, which wanted something to eat. The only way for the child to get well, they said, was for her to have a hog killed and cooked, and then invite a number of men to eat it all, in the name of the otter. This was done, and when the men finished eating the hog and the soup, they said that the girl would recover, and so she did. For this ceremony they took an otter-skin to represent the girl's pet, which was used every two years, and when the owner died was passed to the oldest survivor of the family which owned it, and kept in the belief that it would benefit the health of all of them. It was the only one of its kind in the tribe, and was called '*kunų'zəs*.'

"The exact details and order of the ceremony were not remembered by our informant, but it was certain that the family in question 'fed the otter' every two years in the spring, that being the time of year when the little girl had been taken ill. Everyone was invited, men x796 and women, and a man was selected to cook the hog, and another to supply wood and to cut the poles for swinging the kettle, both of whom were paid with a yard of wampum. The fire was kindled with a special flint-and-steel always kept with the outfit.

"It will be observed that the otter-skin has a slit down the middle of the neck, through which the owner thrust his head in such a manner that the otter's nose lay under the wearer's chin, while its body and tail hung down his back. Wearing the skin in this manner himself impersonating the original otter, the owner would open the ceremony by walking about the fire, chanting and shaking the turtle rattle which resembled those used in the Big House, while the audience kept time to his song by uttering 'Hu-hu-hu-hu!' The nature of the song the writer was unable to learn, but, like the chants of the Bear Ceremony, it probably was concerned with the singer's 'dream helper.' When he had finished, another man put on the skin and took up the chant, and so on until noon the next day, when the ceremony was brought to a close and all joined in the feast. At this time the skin is told, 'We will feed you again in two years.'"

In regard to the Grease Drinking, or Otter, Ceremony, we have the following historical notes to add from the testi- [424] mony of Tom Half Moon. The last time that the ceremony was performed (1898) it was done in behalf of his mother, Lizzie Half Moon of the Turkey group, in whose family the rite was an hereditary one coming down through her father, the previously mentioned Col. Jackson. Jackson acquired the privilege to perform it through his wife whose great-grandfather is said to have been its originator. His mother, [755] it seems, was at the point of death, whereupon it was decided as a last resort to try a cure through the Otter Ceremony. Shortly after its completion, however, the afflicted woman died. Upon the failure of the rite it was decided to abandon it upon the assumption that it was valuable only to the women of an earlier generation of the Nation's history. Half Moon, who was present at its performance, corroborated the details [346] previously recorded, affirming that the celebration was carried on within a brush enclosure or fence and not covered over at the top. He recalled how each one among those present took a little drink of grease, throwing the rest of his or her portion into the fire. The portions were offered to the participants by the leader or master of ceremonies.

A Grease Drinking Ceremony was also possessed and 796ˣ
celebrated in the family of Mrs. Jim (Sally) Thompson. As
performed by this family the master of ceremonies wore a [293]
whole otter-skin suspended upon his back, the otter's head upon his breast in the manner described by Harrington in his section on the Otter Ceremonies. Half Moon thought that the otter skin in the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) was the one formerly belonging to this family.

A word seems to be called for in explanation of the con- 796ˣ
fusion existing in the descriptions we have of the two pre- 184
ceding ceremonies, namely, the Bear or Brush Arbor rite and the Otter rite of the Grease Drinking Ceremony. The similarity of procedure in both cases and the conflicting testimony as regards the style of making the enclosure in which the celebration was carried out, are perplexing enough to cause the Indians as well as the several authorities who have quoted them to be accused of error. My attempt to straighten out the circumstances by questioning the Delawares themselves in Oklahoma resulted in partially clearing up the difficulty.
It seems that type ceremonies similar in performance as [424]
regards function and general procedure, were customary properties among those families who possessed them either through inheritance or through direct acquisition by the visitation of spirits. In each family possessing a ceremony the details of arrangement and of paraphernalia differed somewhat. Therefore, when we record the traditional narrative of the ceremony as performed by the family of Col. Jackson we get the details that were characteristic of the rite as the particular rules of this family required it to be performed. Again, when the Thompson family, for instance, celebrated its grease-drinking feast the procedure was conducted as tradition had conveyed it in the past through the generations within that family. Again, in one family the ceremony would center about the myth of its relationship with the bear, whence the Bear rite as recorded in the previous chapter. Moreover, in different branches of the family in which the Bear rite was inherited, there could be variations in the procedure and the equipment,

as we are told. In another family a grease-drinking feast would be performed to satisfy obligations incurred in some past relationship between its members and the traditional otter. From these circumstances arose variations in rites falling within the same general category, descriptions of which have come down to us in terms of variation. By understanding these to refer to separate performances of the general family feast type among different groups of kinsfolk, the difficulty of treating the conflicting sources is largely minimized. I need hardly add that these ceremonies have fallen out of use in the Nation within the last two generations and so the existing situation in regard to variations among the family types will have to remain uncorrected.

THE MASK DANCE CEREMONY

Kant'ke'ohe·n məs·i'ŋgəma, "he dances his face-image 796x
(mask)." The mask concept being one of some prominence 771
in Delaware worship, one may imagine that a reconstruction 778
of religious performance in the tribe, at a time before the decline of native institutions, would place the human-face representation in an exalted position among the spirit forces. In both Delaware and Iroquois religious pantomime masking seems about equally proportioned, though the finer details of belief and performance in the two groups are dissimilar enough to cause hesitation in allying them in origin. Yet it is noteworthy that only the Delawares among the Algonkian peoples east of the Alleghanies and south of New England exhibit the mask development, whence it extends southward to Florida with little interruption even considering the meagreness of early information on religious features in the lives of these mysterious tribes.

I have indulged in some discussion of the Mask Spirit and 796x
its history among the Delawares in my study of the Big House Ceremony,[1] to which the reader is referred for a summary account of the circumstances by which the Delawares became involved in the carrying out of the mask propitiation rite. The details of the inheritance of the mask image and the expiation ceremony within a certain family in the tribe, namely the Frenchman family, have been outlined in the report referred to.

The ceremony is accordingly one of the family "feasts" among the Delawares that attracted the attention of Zeisberger as being of such frequent occurrence in the tribe while resident in Ohio in the eighteenth century.

We discover the concept governing this ceremonial feast [776]
to be that the Mask Spirit requires to be remembered with a

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[1] "Big House Ceremony," p. 43. It may be noted that recent results of work among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations reserve, Ontario, also disclose significant traditions of mask usage.

×796 dance and feast in his honor among the people. He is be-
776 lieved to be present at this time with the company. The occasion satisfies the Mask Spirit, his favor is invoked in behalf of hunters, especially in the pursuit of deer, over which he exerts spiritual control. And any possible influences of evil through sickness are averted by this ceremonial compensation. The function of the Mask Spirit as the guardian of the game is again shown by the fact that the feast was held in the autumn before the hunting season opened. The same idea is evident at the time, during the Big House Ceremony, when the Mask is brought in to dance just before the hunters depart for the ceremonial hunt on the fourth morning of the performance. In paying homage to the spiritual "owner" of the game we undoubtedly have an exceedingly old and fundamental religious property of the Algonkian culture complex.

The Mask Spirit, however, has manifestly a dual function in the Delaware pantheon, presiding over both the game spirits and those of cultivated vegetation. We learn this most clearly from the invocations in the address proclaimed in connection with the Mask dance. This characteristic Delaware *mani'tʻu* seems to reign as a spirit of responsibility for the food supply of the tribe, thus involving obligations to him on the part of the people for plant as well as animal sources of nourishment. The Mask Spirit also possesses a personality of evil, when aggravated by neglect. He seems to represent a menace not to be ignored when aroused, the humor of which is influenced by a kind of attention which is explained in the ensuing passages as an essential to well-being. The burden of propitiatory rite-performance was inflicted upon a certain posterity, the penalty of neglect of the mask rites being sickness. This feature is about the only element of the mask beliefs which corresponds with Iroquois teaching concerning the Mask Spirits.

In the text to follow, Wi·tapano'xwe reproduces the formal speeches which evince the Delaware attitude toward the mask concept and the purpose dominating the minds of the people in maintaining this interesting festival.

The Mask Dance is given in the fall of the year because 796x
all vegetation is matured at that time, also the hunting season
opens with Indians when the leaves of the forest have begun [824
to turn red showing the first tinges of autumn. Deer hides 825]
are then said to be thickening and the fur becoming good.

The Delaware Mask Dance is given, sometimes because someone has had a "scare," or may have been attacked by some strange malady, or a sick spell, imagining that he has seen a mask and become frightened. Sometimes mask owners fail by neglect to give the usual annual Mask Ceremony, or again in case of death they fail to transfer the ownership of the mask to some member of the family or next closest of kin, so the strange things are brought about.

The Delaware Indians use the entire mask which has a 796x
cape attached to it, the cape hanging over the coat, thus the 778
man wearing the mask must hold his fingers in the mouth of
the mask while moving about or dancing because the mask
is simply resting on the head and the large wooden face is
heavy and will jolt on the head; now the mask wearer must
carry his cane and the snapping turtle rattle in his right
hand together until he stops. A shoulder strap about two
inches wide is thrown over the shoulder with a small saddle
bag attached and used to put chewing tobacco in, which
is given to the mask-man or wearer. In order to keep [861]
children from making so much unnecessary noise, they are
told that the bag (*pənda''sənakan*) contains snakes.

An old and historic specimen of the wooden mask used in recent years by the Delawares of the Cherokee band, Oklahoma, having found its way, surreptitiously as the Indians claim, into the cases of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, has been described by Harrington and myself. It is 14.5 inches in length the right half being painted red, the left half black. The eye-holes were small apertures perforated in tin plates to permit vision. It is not necessary to repeat here what has already been said of the object (Speck, "Big House Ceremony," pp. 39–44, 93).[7]

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[7] Sooner or later it will become the task of a student to examine the correspondences between Delaware and Iroquois mask traits among which stand forth the common peculiarities of mask construction in both series, the use of

x796 To prepare for a Mask Ceremony the owner of the mask must arrange for the same by setting a certain day and announcing the time when such a dance is to be held. He must have the maize (*xaskwi*[illegible]*n*) and flour-corn (*pu'he·m*)[3] to make Indian bread and homi[illegible] for the feast after the dance.

A young active and experienced dancer is chosen to do the dancing with the *məs·i'ŋg* (mask) outfit. He performs his antics and dances alone. As to the wearer of the mask during the dance only those who have charge of the ceremony know
[781] his identity. It is deliberately kept a secret from the younger people in order to impress them with awe for supernatural forces and to restrain them from unruliness or boisterousness.

Any clan chief or an old man accustomed to speaking may act, by invitation of the mask owner, as master of ceremony. He is generally a member of one of the two ceremonial groups other than that of the mask owner. He
[765] receives one Indian "yard" of wampum beads for his services. The dance, which is usually held at night time, is begun about midnight, and as soon as the performances are over with they have the feast. First of all the master of ceremony announces the purpose of the gathering. The owner of the mask in the wind-up says, "We have now finished dancing with our grandfather, and shared with him in this hominy. So, should we have the good fortune to be living next year, we may have another dance. But now when we are through eating we may dance long as we please with all good intent and purpose providing we keep good order, which is very pleasing to the mask spirit as well as to the owner of the mask."

[535] The mask performance is followed by a night of social dancing as is usual with the Delaware feasting ceremonies. The masking clownish pantomime is brought to a conclusion about midnight by a more or less set speech by the master of ceremony and the feast of hominy.

x796
533 The musical accompaniment consists in the singing of the

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the large Snapping Turtle rattle, the rough staff, the whinnying utterances, the offering of tobacco, the association with illness and so on. For further particulars reference should be made to the Big House Ceremony study at the pages cited.

[3] A variety of white maize with a long slender cob.

stated songs for the mask dance by selected men who beat 796x time upon the flat deer-hide drum of the same type as that 533 used in the Big House Ceremony. (See Fig. 19, I, of the "Big House Ceremony.")

It should be noted that the Mask Spirit is important 796x enough among the spirit-forces to be admitted to the annual 776 ceremony of the Big House. There, we learn, on the fourth morning of the festival the mask is admitted to the scene and the same dance as that just described is gone through.

See pp. 39–44, and figs. 9, 10 of the volume referred to ~~800~~ for particulars and illustrations of the mask spirit concept, p. 139 for description of this intercession during the Big House Ceremony when the Mask-Spirit is introduced as a performer.

MASK DANCE ADDRESSES

Announcement by the Speaker

796x
539
537

Elaŋgu'ndieŋg	kexa'p'tun	ke'ko	nga't·a	lo'we.
Our kindred	few words	something	I want	to say.

wa'ni	ce•	ni·'ma'təs	ga'xta	wehoma's·u	təli'	ga'xta
This	there	my brother	wants	to announce	that	he is going

kɑnt'ke'ohe•n	məs·i'ŋgoma.	me'tci	paxka'ndji	ki·cə-
to make dance	his mask.	Now	all ready	pre-

na'k·ut	we•'mi·	ke'ko	nekałkɔ't·uk	e'nda	wi·'huŋge•t'[4]
pared	all	things	used	when	he feasts[4]

wa'ni	kəmuxo•'msəna	məs·i'ŋg.	kowa'to•ne•n	elaŋ-
that	our grandfather	mask.	You know	my

gu'ndieŋg	ləmwe''kami	nɔ'tci·	ki·ci·'mkɔt	elaehɔ's·i·t'
kindred	ancient world	since	has been the rule	the manner

awe•'n	nehel·a'la•t'	məs·i'ŋgɔ	e'nxɑn	acəwi·ga'xtiŋg
anyone	owning	a mask	each	every year

na'ni·	lɑk'hi'kwi·	taxkɔkəni·'i·	lɑk'hi'kwi·	sa'psoha'la•
that	time	in the fall	time	made hominy for

məs·i'ŋg	wi·sa'pa•n	nani	kəmuxo•'msəna.
mask	hominy	that	our grandfather.

yu'kwe	ki·ci· wunda'su	e'nda	pale'nɑxk	la'k·i·m-
Now	has been set	when	fifth	day of the

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[4] Referring to both the mask and its owner.

x796
539
537

kwu'sᵉi·t	taxkokanə·'wi·	gi·'cux	li·ᶜ	wunda'su	təli'tc
month	fall	moon[1]	as	set	for

kə'nt'kaᵉn	nani·'	mæs·i'ŋg.	weᵉ'mi·	aweᵉ'n	ga'xta
the dance	that	mask.	Every	one	must

kəlelə'ndamuk	elaŋgu'ndieŋg	ga't·a	wi·tcəma'məna
remember	my kindred	must	help

wa'ni·	elaŋgoᵉ'meŋ	eᵉ'li·	me'tci·	k'təm·a''kat'	wa'ni·
this	our relative	because	now	pitiful	this

lənaᵉ'pe	endala'us·i·t.	me'tci·	a'hət'	təli·'	ke'ko
Delaware	way of living.	Now	it is hard	that	anything

k'tcuk·wənəmə'neᵉn	wa'ni·	lənaᵉ'pe	mi·kəmɔs·uwa'k·an
for us to move	the	Delaware	his performances

ɔk	moᵉhowa'k·an	ɔk	laᵉkeyɔ'k·an.	yu laha'p·a
and	his dances	and	his ceremonies.	Now for the present

te'pi·	e'nxap'toᵉneᵉ'ya	cuk'	i·ya'p'tci·	ndayα'ndamaᵉn
it is enough	what I have said	but	however	I wish

tə'li·	weᵉ'mi·	ik·a	pe'tci·	wəlamalsi·'neᵉn	enda'
that	all	up till	then	are well	when

taxkɔ'ka	na'mieŋg	ɔk	k'tə'li·	wi·'t'keᵉmaneᵉ'n
autumn	we see	and	to	we dance with

muxoᵉ'msəna	ne'	lαk'hi'kwi·.
our grandfather	that	time.

wa'ni·ci·	elaŋgu'ndieŋg	yu'kwe	petci·lak'hwi·'eŋg
Thanks	my kindred	now here	this evening

weᵉ'mi·	ceᵉ	ni·max'tə's·tuk	ɔk	udaxkweᵉ'mαt·uk	ɔk
all	those	our brothers	and	our sisters	and

weᵉ'mi·	neᵉk'	tami·'mǫsəməna'nαk	pe'tci·	weᵉ'mi·
all	those	our children	including	all

enxənauga't·ək	laŋgoᵉs·owa'tuk,	me'tci·	i·'k·a
every one	my relations,	now	has

maxteᵉ'xαn	tə'li·	wi·'t·auhi·maᵉ'ueᵉn	wa'ni·	muxoᵉ'-
come	that	we dance with	him	our grand-

ṁsəna	mæs·i'ŋg.	ɔk	gahə'ni·	wani'ci·	e'nda	neᵉ'meŋg
father	mask.	And	very	thankful	when	we see

weᵉ'mi·	ke'ko	paxkandji·'k·an.	yu'kwe	pe'tci·	wi·'kwi·
every	thing	has matured.	Now	comes	ending of

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[1] October.

taxkə'kiŋ liʻ weᵉ'mi· ke'ko na'xpon·e uli·'nak·ɔtʻ ɔk 796ˣ
in fall as all things even look good and 539

kole'ləmuk'ho'mana weᵉ'mi aweᵉ'n. yu'kwe gat·a't·i· 537
we are glad all persons. Now do your utmost

weᵉ'mi· aweᵉ'n wi·tcəmaᵉ'meᵉn muxoᵉ'məəna i'k·a'
every one to help our grandfather up

petci· tə'li· təma''həmaᵉn e'ləmi· t'paᵉ'kwi·kʻ. me'tci·
until that he finish (his dance) during the night. Now

e'nda təma'həmaᵉt nɑtcʻ laha'p·a wi·poᵉmaᵉ'neᵉn
when he finishes his dance then we will eat with him

ne'ni· musaᵉ'p'sowak·an. me'tci· e'nda weᵉ'mi· aweᵉ'n
this his hominy. Now when every one

ki·'ci· xa'm·əndʻ nɑtcʻ la'p·i· keᵉ'xap'tun ke'ko
has been fed then again a few words things

eᵉloweᵉ'ya natc kɑndj ta'ləmi· lən·auhi·'neᵉn.
I want to say, then we will begin our common dances.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

Free Translation.

Our kindred, there are a few words that I wish to say. This brother of mine wants to announce that he is going to make a dance for his mask. Now, all the things that are to be used when he gives the feast to our grandfather the Mask are ready and prepared. You know, kindred, ever since ancient times the rule has told that anyone owning a mask, each year in the fall of the year, shall make hominy for that mask our grandfather.

Now, the time has been set for the fifth day of the fall moon as decided upon for dancing the Mask. Everyone must remember it, kindred, and must help this relative of ours, because now these Delaware customs have become pitiful. Now, it has become difficult for us to move anything in the way of Delaware ceremonies and dances. Now, for the present it is enough what I have said, but nevertheless I wish that all will have good health until then, that we shall see the autumn and dance with our grandfather at that time.

OPENING ADDRESS

x796 Thanks kindred, now here this evening all our brothers,
539 sisters, our children and each and every one of our relations,
537 it has happened that we have danced with our grandfather the Mask. And we are very thankful when we see how everything has matured. Now comes the conclusion in the fall as all things look so well, and we all of us are glad. Now, do your utmost everyone to help our grandfather along until he finishes his dance during the night. Now, when he finishes his dance then we will feast with him on this hominy which is his. Now, when everyone has been fed then again I want to say a few words, after which we will begin our common dances.

x796 The speeches delivered at these ceremonies may vary
537 somewhat according to the mood of the chief invited to give them. They all follow the general pattern which has been demonstrated in connection with the various rites so far described as to have become familiar to the reader. Several formulistic thoughts, we are informed, should not be overlooked, such as voicing the feeling of enjoyment experienced by all present to have had the pleasure of feasting in company with the spirit of the occasion, in this case the Mask-Spirit, the fact that "no doubt exists but that the Mask-Spirit is well pleased with the devotion paid him, and that the outcome will be successful in bringing health and prosperity to the mask owner and all those present." The speaker should not forget to say his thanks for the good order prevailing at the ceremony and to ask that all those present will go home in harmony and with benefit after the general social dances, which invariably conclude the feasts, are finished.

THE OPOSSUM DANCE CEREMONY

Another family feast rite was *op·i'ŋk·a·n*, "Opossum 796x Dance," also known by a sobriquet *suk'ce'p'ti·e'zk·a·n*, literally "black rump dance." For the latter designation no [424] definite reason is given beyond stating that the woman who "owned" the dance and who took the leading part went through bodily movements supposed to represent the motions of an opossum in the throes of death. This was an inherited [757] dream-revelation ceremony, owned by the descendants in the female line, of a woman who had long ago experienced a dream manifestation which imposed upon her and her posterity the obligation to perform the rite as an expiation for the benevolence of the animal that had appeared to her in vision form. Its procedure follows, as we shall see, the manner of the Big House Ceremony, in conformity with the definite Delaware pattern of religious performance.

The woman in this case was also a dame of tradition. The last time the ceremony was celebrated was during the early life of Wi·tapano'xwe's mother by a certain Mi·mα'ndi·, "Little Child," who had the distinction of being the last owner of the rite. Wi·tapano'xwe's mother had seen the ceremony enough to have been able to imitate in part the songs sung by Mi·mα'ndi·.

The Opossum Dance was, as previously noted, one of spiritual significance. It was opened with an address by a chief of another group and concluded with a feast. It was not known particularly as a ceremonial group- or clan-feast, although it was the possession of women in a definite family, and so may be said to be restricted to "clan" proprietorship. The singers were invited by the owner and chosen from [602] members of the group with which she stood in a joking relationship, the group of her father. The accompaniment was [534] provided by the water-drum, said to have been a clay pot with a hide stretched over its mouth. The singers occupied the usual place for musicians at one side of the dance area or [533]

x796 oval, seated upon a log between two assistant singers who
533 shook rattles.

The movements of this dance followed the procedure of the serious recitations in the Big House Ceremony. The owner or leader, as we understand the term, sang a stanza of her song, then stopped singing while the drummer and his assistants repeated the stanza as the leader danced on about the circle, stopping again when the musicians had finished their repetition. Whereupon she took up the second stanza and the same procedure was repeated as for the first stanza. Other women, we are told, formed a line of followers behind her, and there is no mention of men in the column. The dance was thus divided into stations, after the Big House recitation pattern. The movement was contraclockwise.

x796 At the termination of the songs, which may be inferred to have taken an hour or so to repeat, an address of the sermon type was made by the chief of one of the other two groups (Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise) who had made the opening speech.
[465] For this address he received from the owner a compensation of an arm-length of wampum. At the conclusion of his speech he instructed the company to assemble at the feast after which they were told to proceed with social dances of an informal nature which they might enjoy until morning. The selection of the latter dances and amusements was left to the pleasure of the company.

SACRIFICE FEASTS

796x 782

For a community, a family or an individual to prepare and conduct a feast accompanied by a more or less formal address as a means of bringing relief from trouble or to secure a spiritual blessing for those concerned, is a Delaware usage that assumes the character of a ceremony. It typifies the formal Delaware ceremonial pattern that prevails in most of the performances of a more impressive character such as the Big House Ceremony, the Doll Dance, the Bear Ceremony, the Otter Ceremony, the Corn Harvest Ceremony, the Buffalo Dance and the Opossum Dance.

The procedure of the feast or sacrifice rite, as it is called in Delaware *wi·hu'ŋgi·n*, "making an offering [or sacrifice] to someone," is rather simple. The party acting as host, whether it be a community, a family or an individual, provides the materials for the feast from the three kingdoms of life; flesh, vegetables and fruit. It is, moreover, often held upon the first taking of the produce of the chase or the first harvesting of things grown or gathered. Its ancient character is exhibited by the fact of its wide distribution in similar form over the entire territory inhabited by Algonkian-speaking peoples.

796x 755

To secure relief for a sick member of a family is a common motive for giving a feast of offering. In such a case persons of another ceremonial division of the tribe (Wolf, Tortoise and Turkey groups) are called in as guests. The guests and the hosts eat separately, the guests being served first. A little speech of the following nature is made by the host. "Not having complied with the rules of life in some way which has caused its illness, I feel that I want to give this food in behalf of this child (or other afflicted member of the family as named), and hope that its health will be restored." Implied in this rite of appeal is the feeling that the good-will generated by the feast and the motive for it will cause those

× 776 present to pray and "to wish for"[1] the recovery of the sick
755 one.

It is customary for the food to be divided equally among the guests and it is understood that all must be disposed of, if necessary by the invited ones taking home with them what they cannot eat in vessels or dishes brought with them for that purpose.

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[1] The Delaware equivalent of a wide-spread belief in efficacy of the power of "wish" in eastern North America.

THE DOLL DANCE CEREMONY

Oxta'uska·n, "Doll Dance"

The following ceremony is one of major significance among 776x
the Delawares. It embodies the idea of appeasing the latent 773
ill-will of the Spirit of Corn, aroused through innocent familiarity incurred in the past between the children of certain families and this sensitive Manitto. It typifies, accordingly, one of the family feast ceremonies corresponding in motive with the grease drinking ceremonies, treated previously, in which the idea of placating an offended nature-force lies at bottom. Like the ceremonies mentioned in connection with the bear and the otter, it is obligatory among the descendants of the families who first formed the baneful associations with these spirit-forces, that the ceremonies be fulfilled according to the traditional regulations [1] to secure for them immunity from sickness and other evils of existence. And in conformity with ceremonies of this type we have a tale of origin explaining the mythological event that brought the condition about. This tale will be given shortly. We are told, for instance, that it was forbidden anciently for persons, especially children, to play with cornhusks or other parts of the sacred grain. As the tale narrates, certain children did so without the knowledge of those who would have prevented them. A disease affected them. When the medicine man had been called upon to ascertain its cause he informed them that the sanctity of "mother corn" had been violated, corn being the principal food supply of man provided by the Great Spirit. Even when unintentionally violated by children, he divined, their parents would have to stand the consequences. To remove the consequences a ceremony was prescribed in which dolls representing the Spirit of Corn were feasted and danced periodically among the families descended from children in-

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[1] The formal term in Delaware is *kulə·'kən*, "restriction," equivalent to the more general designation "taboo."

x796 volved in the act of desecration as long as they existed. 773 Thus originated the ceremony.

x796 778 At the present time (1932) we are told there are three of these dolls held by Delaware families. They should be, according to the rulings, furnished with a feast and dance annually. The Delawares still do so as occasion permits, this being one of the ceremonies most recently performed in the Nation. Dr. V. M. Petrullo observed the rite in the summer of 1930. The dolls themselves are kept in the families in which they have descended with their ceremonial obligations for so long that they are held in an attitude of combined reverence and fear. That the ceremony has become a burden to the possessor of dolls is evident, but there being no means open to them to dismiss the obligation under which they have fallen without incurring still deeper animosity of Mother Corn, the rites must be maintained until some event warrants the abandoning of them. In several cases it is recalled that [768] individuals who possessed the dolls in the past had the dolls buried with them upon request. In such cases the obligation to perform the dance ceased. In other cases the doll image and the ritual obligation was transferred to the oldest blood relation or to another relative whom the owner regarded as being most worthy of taking charge of the obligation and capable of conducting the ceremony. It is understood that the three images in the Nation at the present time may be accorded the honor of the feast ceremony all at the same time, being brought together by their owners upon the occasion called by the master of ceremonies. Some of these figures are male and some female. They are dressed in cloth as Delaware style requires with bead-work or ribbon-work and the faces painted in red which is rubbed off when the ceremony is over.

x796 As regards the history of the Doll Ceremony we have no succinct facts to go by. Certain of the Indians themselves point out its similarity to the Bread Dance of the Shawnee.[1] What the two rites may be discovered to have in common might subsequently lead to a suggestion as to their earlier relationship, but of this we are still at a loss to form an idea. 796x The references to pagan family feasts sketchily provided in the narratives of the early missionaries among the Delawares, would definitely point to the existence of a rite of this type in the tribe when it was still resident in the east.

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[1] To be tested by data on Shawnee rites obtained by Dr. and Mrs. C. F. Voegelin.

The following is Wiˑtapano'xwe's outline of the origin tale 796x referred to just previously accounting for the acquisition of 773 the ceremony in the family of his grandmother, Mawa'tˑeˑs, 539 a Munsee woman who was the owner of a doll image and ceremony.

"A little girl of long ago was in the habit of playing with the corn. She would take the shucks and the end of a corncob with its silk and fashion a doll, the silk forming the hair, baring part of the cob to represent the face, and arranging the shucks to represent its dress, in the likeness of a human being. Several children imitated her action and took up playing with similar dolls. The first child was taken sick and became very ill. They sent for a medicine man. He pronounced her illness as being a result of violating laws imposed upon man's behavior in relation to the Spirit of Corn by the Great Spirit. He then told the parents of these children that the sickness could be cured by performing a feast once a year during the child's lifetime and transmitting it down through posterity to prevent return of the malady. The particulars governing the conduct of the feast and ceremony, as well as the details of construction and dress of the doll images to be used in the celebration, were all prescribed in the vision of the medicine man. The families were told to watch closely over the condition of the dolls, to keep their clothing in good repair and well decorated, and to renew it each year on the occasion of the feast. The songs of the ceremony were revealed in detail, there being six for the men participants and six for the women. They were told to provide the feast by killing a beef and a hog for the guests. Also to clear up a large dance ground at some suitable place in the open, likewise to provide at one end of the clearing a seat for the singers and a tent nearby to serve as a lodge for the master of ceremonies. A chief preferably but not necessarily of the same ceremonial group was to be invited to act as master of ceremonies, or *elha'kˑeˑi*, 'one who brings it in.' His aides were to be a woman invited to lead the dancers of her sex, a man to lead the men, and a fire-keeper, called *pu'tcal*, whose duty included the cooking of hominy and meat for the feast. Each of these attendants was to receive a yard ('shoulder to tip of finger length') of wampum for his services. Two drummers were also to be invited to sing and beat upon the folded deer-hide drum. They, too, were to receive the same amount of wampum. The chief invited to act as master of ceremonies would open the occasion with an address of instruction

x 796 and admonition and close it with another. His duties also were to
773 include the enforcement of order during the night of the ceremony, to
539 encourage the people to participate in the dancing, and to see that all went smoothly and reverently until after midnight when the twelve formal chants of the men and women dancers had been completed, after which those present could spend the rest of the night until sunrise in the enjoyment of social dances of their own selection. His ceremonial pay was also a yard of wampum. The master of ceremonies was expected to refer in his opening address to the great event of the year as fall approaches, of the ripening of the corn, to the expectation on the part of the owners of 'our grandmothers,'[3] the dolls, that the dolls be fed with sacred food, hominy and meat. He was to recite how they were going to dance the twelve ceremonial dances representing the twelve months of the year, beginning about seven o'clock and ending at midnight. He was to instruct them how the dances were to alternate between the men and the women, the women having the first dance, how the appointed woman was to lead her participants and the man his. And how the man leader was to dance around the circle carrying one of the images and the women around another circle outside the line of the men dancers behind their leader carrying another of the dolls. Between dances the dolls were to be fastened on poles about five feet high placed in front of the tent that was the headquarters of the master of ceremonies. The prescribed musical instrument for the ceremony was to be the deer-hide drum, and turtle rattles for the leaders. A pole was to be supported upon props over the fire and the feasting kettle hung from it. At one end of the pole was also to be hung the drum when it was being beaten. The next speech of the master of ceremonies, to be given about midnight, was to include thanks to the Great Spirit for the blessing brought them by the ceremony, admonishing those present to conduct their behavior properly, to avoid drunkenness and irreverence. He was to render thanks likewise to the sun, 'our brother,' for his light, to the stars for theirs, and to all the spirits on earth for their blessings and care over us in life, to our grandmothers, the cornhusk dolls, the guardians of health who must be paid once a year by the ceremony for their spiritual aid. His instructions in closing his address were also to refer to the duties of the six selected male and six female leaders (these being relatives of the leader both by blood and within the ceremonial grouping) who should stand at sunrise facing the east with the dishes of food in their hands. They were also to sweep away the ashes from the fireplace and carry all to one side, then put the fire out. In his final address he was to refer to the twelve, male and female, dance leaders who are holding the dishes of food toward the sunrise, as rever-

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[3] To explain the use of the relationship terms, grandmother and mother, the informant stated that the food, corn, is older than the dolls, whence the abstraction of grandmother in some cases.

enced attendants inspired by the Great Spirit whose duty is to help the 796^x
leader in the interest of their family ceremony. He was to tell them 773
that when he had said 'ready' the holders of the dishes of food should 539
make a sideways swinging motion with the dishes saying, '*Hyu'*, *hyu'*, *he e*,' twelve times. At the last time of the utterance they were to lay down the dishes of food making motions as if they were going to throw the food upon a tarpaulin spread nearby upon the dance ground for the people standing waiting to receive it. The bread was so to be thrown for the people to try to catch it if they could. The corn bread (*zaskwi·a'pan*) was to be made in representation of a human form; in the shape of a man complete with arms, legs and head symbolising the Corn Spirit. Another was to be made in the form of a bear about a foot in length, symbolising the stars and constellations to bring to mind the myth relative to the sky bear and the end of the world.[4] Upon each of the corn bread figures, the man and the bear, was to be placed a yard of wampum tied about the neck. Then as the twelve attendants stood in a row, the one standing on the south end of the line facing the sun was to hold the bear figure, the one on the north the human figure. The rest of the people do not know who are to hold these figures. They were instructed to throw the two figures of corn bread so as to cross each other in the air for the spectators to try and catch them. Those who did were to keep the wampum tied about the images, the successful ones thus receiving a yard of wampum as a ceremonial act. This last event was to take place just before the sun made its appearance on the horizon. Then all fell upon the food consuming it, except members of families owning the dolls. This was to end the ceremony after which all should go home and live properly until the ceremony is called for the next year. The rules required that in the case of death in the family the oldest in line next takes up the responsibility of the ceremony. Should he not wish to continue it it should be buried with him including the dolls which were to be referred to in such a case as 'orphans' since they have no one to care for them."

Harrington has also treated the Doll Dance. The tale accounting for its origin which he recorded differs in some details from the version given. It is as follows:[5]

"Long ago, the Lenape say, some children, playing with sticks, decided to cut faces upon them, and were then very much surprised to notice that the little dolls which they had thus made seemed to have life. Their parents made them throw the dolls away when they disx 796 covered this, and most of the children soon forgot what had happened. 773 One little girl, however, grieved for her doll; it bothered her all the time, 539 and finally she began to dream of it every night. Then she told her parents of her trouble, and they realised that they should not have compelled her to throw the doll away. One night the doll appeared to the child and spoke to her, saying, 'Find me and keep me always, and you and your family will ever enjoy good health. You must give me new clothing and hold a dance for me every spring,'[1] and then told her exactly what to do. The girl reported this to her parents, who immediately looked for the doll and found it, then dressed it, made some hominy, killed a deer, and held a dance in its honor as they were instructed, and this rite has been continued to the present day."

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[4] A Delaware belief: when the bear (Ursa major) catches up with his severed head (a constellation not identified, corona borealis or Boötes) the earth will come to an end. Indeed, a prophetic truism.

[5] Harrington, I, pp. 162–3.

x 796 The description which he gives of the dance corresponds in most of its details with what has been previously set down. He mentions, however, a few additional features of the procedure which do not appear in my own. In preparation for the ceremony we are told "a hunter is then selected who calls on several to help him get a deer which, when brought in, is hung on poles prepared for it at the dance ground where it remains over night. The next morning they cook the deer and a kettle of hominy, and are then ready for the ceremony."

Furthermore he adds a point or two in regard to the carrying of the dolls during the dance. "When the leader finishes his 'set,' he passes the doll pole to the man behind him, who repeats the process, and so on until the men dancers [801] have carried it six times, when it is transferred to the women, who, in their turn, dance six sets, making twelve in all, the Lenape sacred number."

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[1] My information implies that it was a fall rite.

THE BUFFALO DANCE CEREMONY

Si·li·e'oxk·as, literally "buffalo dance", is one of the 796x ceremonies concerning which Harrington expressed some uncertainty as regards its position in the Delaware cycle. He merely mentions the ceremony as known to his informants,[1] and quotes Adams as being the only other writer to have dealt with it in a brief account published forty years ago.[2] That the Buffalo Dance should be included with the Otter Ceremony or the Bear Ceremony, as Harrington surmises, I shall not agree with. We have enough concrete information regarding it to describe it as an independent rite, even basing judgment upon the meagre details now in hand. In the account that follows I have included the observations put on record by Adams.

It should be noted that the Delawares have abandoned the 796x Buffalo Dance since their migration to the Cherokee Nation. 178 But in 1921 they performed the dance for exhibition purposes, led by a Christian Delaware, Filmore Secondine (*se·kəndaie'xiŋg*, "As long as the building is"), who was old enough to have learned it in his younger days.[3] The Delawares, however, still participate in the Buffalo Dance when they visit the Shawnee, according to Wi·tapano'xwe. Among the latter the dance is still in favor, and, he adds, it was understood that both tribes carried it out in the same manner. Being a ceremony with common properties among a number of Oklahoma tribes we may wonder whether perhaps the Delawares did not acquire it after they had crossed westward into the area of the Central Algonkian or perhaps even later after their arrival beyond the Mississippi.

Wi·tapano'xwe states that this is a dance and ceremony 796x intended for fighting men and hunters. Adams affirms this x796 by saying that it is a pleasure dance and is given before starting on the chase. The informant regards it as a special rite not falling into the series of devotional or medicine performances in which visions are recited. The dance is a dramatic pantomime of the buffalo in their wallow, intended to procure success in the hunt.

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[1] Harrington, I, p. 182–3.

[2] R. C. Adams, Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed, U. S. Census, 1890, p. 299.

[3] The informant thinks that J. A. Parks, a Delaware now living, may still know some of the Buffalo Dance songs which his grandfather knew.

[534] The equipment for the dance is the pot drum or kettle drum. Adams refers to a drum consisting of a dried skin, stretched over poles, upon which to beat. The performers wear a special dress for the head, known as the horned fur-
[292] headband, a wide band of fur, otter or buffalo preferably, having short polished horns attached to each side over the ears of the wearer. The male performers smear the forelock and the parting of their hair with moistened clay. This is to symbolize the bulls disporting themselves in the mud wallow which I imagine needs no further description to readers. They also paint their faces yellow and smear clay
[302] on their bodies as far down as the belt. The informant also added that the men could wear the feather bonnet of the Plains type with buffalo horns attached to the sides. Both informants, Wi·tapano'xwe and Adams, mention the cleared and hard beaten dance-space, the preparing of a fire in the center, the erection of a cross-pole upon two forked posts driven into the earth at each side of the fire, from which are suspended two large kettles full of boiled hominy. The drummers and singers are seated on a log bench on the north side of the dancing space.

The personnel of the dance consists first of all in having a sponsor for the occasion in the form of some man who assumes responsibility for its proper conduct. He then selects his assistants, male and female, from members of his own ceremonial group (Turkey, Wolf or Tortoise). One of the men selected is to be the singer and he may have a couple of helpers. We are told that other men also who know the songs or those who may wish to learn them would be permitted to sit with the musicians and rehearse with them.

x796 The procedure in the Buffalo Dance is to emulate the
535 behavior of the buffalo as the animals are conceived as con-

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gregated around their wallow, shoving and pushing the weaker 796^x bulls and cows aside as they attempt to feed. The men 535 dancers personify the bulls, the women performers the cows. The dance is begun by the men, who have gone off some distance from the dancing space to prepare themselves with headdress and clay coating. They come charging up to the dance-ring where they form in line on the south side, opposite the drummers and singers. Throughout the performance they grunt and snort like bulls. When the men are in the formation to begin, the women to take part form another line outside that of the men. There is a leader for the men, or bulls, and one for the women, or cows. When the accompaniment has begun, both lines commence to move contra-clockwise around the posts supporting the hominy pots. The men gallop and stamp like bulls. Suddenly, while circling the enclosure as they come near the hominy pots, one of the men will attempt to help himself to a portion of the hominy, using either his hands or a mussel-shell spoon. This is the moment for one of his neighboring dancers to charge to his side and using the horns of his headgear as the buffalo does his horns to thrust and try to push the feeder away from the food, as the jealous bulls are described as doing when crowding around the feeding place. All the time they are grunting hu^n hu^n hu^n! This act typifies the attempt of the strongest bull to ward off the herd while he gets his fill. This action is repeated each time that one of the bulls attempts to feed. The women, or cows, also try to get a taste of the hominy. At this moment one of the bulls comes charging up to drive her away from the pot, thrusting at her with his horns, whereupon another bull to protect her will attack the first and attempt to horn him to one side that the cow may feed. Thus the Buffalo Dance progresses amid great excitement and confusion among the dancers, though all the time some semblance of order of dance is maintained while the assigned songs are being rendered.

RAIN MAKING RITUAL

789 *E'nda sokola°'nheyg*, "when rain make." In making an appeal to the grandfather Thunder to send showers and rain,
[825 ancient custom has decreed that the skin of a weasel is a
782] suitable offering to the "grandfather" accompanying the prayer.

The rite is an individual one. Any man or woman may own a weasel skin [1] and perform it in time of drought. The ritual is recited in seclusion, not at a public gathering as it is reported by Wi·tapano'xwe among the Shawnee.[2] By the holder of the weasel skin the object is regarded as sacred, the skin being treated as though it were a live animal. It is kept wrapped up and put away carefully so that it will not be molested, that is suffer indignity, this solicitude being similar to what is accorded other objects used in ceremonials. This may mean nothing more than being tied up and kept in a trunk, a basket or hung in a shed where it is out of the way. Wi·tapano'xwe had his enveloped in a green cloth and tied with a string of leather.[3] The weasel ceremonially used, is called *sa'ŋgwe*, a term which denotes something used for a sacred purpose.[4]

782 In this rite the rain-maker proceeds to a running stream.
789 He dips the skin into the water and lifts it upward while saying this beautiful little prayer addressing the Thunder and

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[1] The species of weasel mentioned is *Mustela cicognani cicognani*, or *M. noveboracensis*. A third form mentioned by the informant is called "spotted weasel" has not been identified. The skin of the latter, he added, is used in making medicine for horse colic, so there is evidently some definite creature in mind.

[171] [2] According to the informant the Shawnee make more of a ceremony of rain-making with the weasel, the skin being kept in the custody of an old man who has exclusive right to handle it and to the place where it is concealed, and a dance accompanies the prayer.

[3] Specimen in collection of Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.

[825] [4] That the weasel has had a sacred function in early as well as recent Delaware religious magic is shown by the record of the same name for the animal recorded in Delaware of over a century ago, namely *sanquen* (Brinton, "Lenape Dictionary," p. 124).

his messenger the weasel as the sources from which relief is 782
hoped to come. The rain spirit is believed to repose in the 789
thunder cloud that is soon expected to appear, and which is addressed as "grandfather." Wi·tapano'xwe added that the sacred animal is offered as a token of the good faith of the people in following the traditions of their ancestors as to how to pray when a drought had come upon them. The skin is held forth in the four directions, north, east, south and west. There is also, he added, an appeal to the running stream, "our mother," to aid in bringing about a rainfall for her suffering children on earth, "that all things we depend upon for our living and existence, vegetation and animal life, may grow in abundance."

Harrington has recorded a note on the occurrence of mink and weasel skin medicine sacks among the Munsee-Delawares of Moraviantown, Ontario, but he did not secure explanations of use.[5]

RAIN MAKING PRAYER

782
789
539

Wa'nici·	muxoᵘ'msa.	yu'kwe	ki·'ckwi·k	ndayα'-
Thanks	grandfather.	This	day	I

ndamaᵉn	təli·a'	wi·tcəmi·'neᵉn	ko'xwi·sαk.	kəneᵉ'mαn
wish	that	you help us	your grandchildren.	You see

ełki·'kwi·	itəma'k·a'	weᵉ'mi·	ke'ko	da'ət'.	gwi·'la	li·
how	pitiful.	every	thing	scarce.	No place	for

lama'hən·a	eᵉ'li	kaha'p·αng	weᵉ'mi·	yutali·'
drinking water source	because	drought	all	here about

eləmaᵉ'kami·.	na'xpon·amaᵉn	wa'ni·	saŋgwe'axeᵉs.
on the earth.	I hold and ask with	that	weasel hide.

eᵉ'li·	na'ni·	li·'xαn	lɔ'mwe	no'tci·	wa'ni·	lən·a'p·e
Because	that is	rule	long ago	since	the	Delaware

təli·	waᵉ'toᵉn	eᵉ'li·	mi·łkwus·u'	eᵉlaehɔ's·i·t	e'nda
because	he knew	because	he was given	how to perform	when

wi·'noweᵉt	naᵉ'ta	hukwe'yuŋg	e'nda	leləmu'k·ɔn
begging in earnest	to you	above	when	where you abide

se's·ukəlaᵉ'nheᵉs	muxoᵘ'msa	peᵉt'hak'ho'we.	eᵉ'li·	ki·
rain maker	grandfather	thunder.	Because	you

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[5] M. R. Harrington, "Vestiges of Material Culture Among the Canadian Delawares," *Amer. Anth.*, N.S., Vol. 10, No. 3, 1908, p. 417.

782	xo'xa	mi·'lkwusᵃin.	ək	kəni·'hi·laᵉtamən	weᵉ'mi·	mbi·'
789	alone	is given the power.	And	you control	all	water
539	ki·	ma'n'towak·an	tə'li·	kəna'mənəᵉn.	wu'ndjitc	
	your	spiritual power	that	we look for.	Therefore	
	təmaᵃ'keləmi·e'ŋgwe	ək	əna'ni·	saŋgwe'oxeᵉs	na'lən·a	
	you have pity on us,	and	the	weasel skin	that	
	kwu't·i·	teᵉkəna'yes	i'k·a	wundji·a'yu	man'towa'k·an	
	one	wild animal	there	belongs	his spiritual power	
	wehendji·'hil·aᵉk	sukəlaᵃ'namiŋg.	yu'kwe	e'nda	tcɔ'p·-	
	where it comes from	rain fall.	Now	when	I dip	
	ŋnak	yu'ni·	peᵉmi·'tan·i·k	ndəlaᵃ'p'tona'la	wa'ni·	
	into water	this	in the stream	I invoke by addressing	that	
	aye'sᵃəs	təli·'	wi·tci·'lae'mhoneᵉn	e'nda	i'k·a	laŋgoᵘ'si·-
	animal	that	he might intercede for us	when	toward	we appeal to
	eŋgᵛ	hukwe'yuŋg	lema'ta'p·i·yan.	yuk	wani'ci·	
	you	above	where you sit.	Now	thanks	
	moxoᵘ'msa	na'li·hi·'neᵉn	weᵉ'mi·	enxoxtoᵘ'leŋg'.	wani'ci·	
	grandfather	give us	everything	we ask of you.	Thanks,	
	te'pi·laha'p·a.					
	this is all for now.					

Free Translation.

Thanks, grandfather. This day I wish that you help us, your grandchildren. You see how pitiful it is, everything is growing scarce. There is indeed even no place to get drinking water because drought rules all about over the earth. I hold this weasel skin and plead with you. For that is the custom since long ago, as the Delaware knew, because the knowledge was given to him to know how to perform when supplicating you up there above where you abide, oh rain-maker, grandfather Thunder. For to you is given the power. And you control by your spiritual power all the water that we are craving. Therefore do you have pity on us, and also the weasel skin, the one wild animal from whose spiritual power comes the rainfall which belongs to him. Now when I dip it into the water of this stream, I call upon you by addressing this animal that he may intercede for us when we appeal to you up above where you sit. Now thanks, grandfather, do give us everything that we ask of you. Thanks, that is all for now.

THE SPRING PRAYER AND FOOTBALL CEREMONY TO ADVANCE VEGETATION

An important rite took place in the spring at a time co- 796x
inciding with the first appearance and growth of vegetation. 526
The rite has lost most of its former strictness, and its performance in recent times is apparently of shorter duration. Without going into speculation upon its original character, we have certain particulars to place on record, of which the following text and description of a football ceremony as part of the celebration are of considerable interest. In describing the festival the text of the annual spring prayer will be given then a sketch of the football ceremony. The prayer is the formal prelude to the occasion and seems to embody the dominant spirit of thanksgiving and supplication in behalf of a vigorous growth of vegetation upon which the Delawares placed such stress in their economic existence. The prayer contains some finely worded passages and shows perhaps more than other declamations the power of expression of which the native mind is capable when stimulated to religious emotion by the contemplation of the blessings brought to man by the heat of the sun, moisture and the glorious realm of plant life.

There is reason to trace much of the ceremonial make-up 796x
~~of this~~ festival to the Shawnee with whom the Delawares 174
were, and still are, so closely associated. Until we have the results of the painstaking study of Shawnee ethnology in course of preparation by Dr. and Mrs. Voegelin it is wiser not to draw conclusions on this point.

The concept that trees are capable of breathing utterances 000
has not died out in human letters among modern European poets[1] whose muse is of a much later birth than that of the

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[1] For instance, among the latest; Stephen Vincent Benét ("John Brown's Body," N. Y., 1928),

> "I heard the song of breath . . .
> Solemn harps of the fir.
> And the vast, tiny grass
> Blown by a breath and speaking."

[illegible] Indians. And to witness a simular early creation of savage poetic imagination, we learn from the Mistassini, lowly hunters of Labrador, that when the wind blows the firs, bending down their tips and branches, it is the Great Spirit combing them as a father combs the hair of his children. Who has asserted that savages cannot be poets?

x 796 The season for this rite begins sometime in the early spring, and the playing of the football game lasts until midsummer, about the end of June, when its season is formally closed, not to be resumed until the next spring.

The ceremony, being a glorification over the return of spring, has certain formal requirements to be fulfilled, not only by the chief, but by the people at large. It is believed that if the rules governing the festival are not obeyed, floods, tornadoes, and storms will result, causing the destruction of grain and fruit crops. On the other hand, the proper conduct of the football game during the season of performance will strengthen the growth of the crops. There is also a symbolical feature of the festival in the desire to indulge in a show of pure enjoyment of the people for the blessings of good weather and the returning warmth of the sun. Therefore, it would seem to have some solstitial significance which is brought out in the ruling that the season for play terminates about the end of June. There seem to be no closely analogous cere-
[71] monies in the eastern area with which to compare this interesting rite outside of the Shawnee analogue, unless they be found in Iroquois, and no specific reference to it in the early Delaware narratives which might serve as a help in determining its former history before the removal west.

The ceremony bears the name *ni·p·əna'k·an*, "summer dance," while that part of it which pertains to the football play is called *paxsa'hamaᵉŋ*, "ballplay" (*paxsahi·'k·an*, "ball"). Another explanation of the latter term gives us the meaning "divided," referring to the division of the sexes into opposite sides to play the game. On the whole, we may sense a deeper religious symbolism lying beneath this celebration than is apparent in the meagre account now available.

Those who fancy such instances of belief in tree-animation will find several references in my "Naskapi" (University of Oklahoma Press, 1935, pp. 38–9).

The Spring Dance may be called to performance by a 796^x
chief of any one of the three ceremonial social groups, Wolf,
Turkey or Tortoise. It is he who is responsible for the prayer
which opens the event. Besides the prayer or invocation, he
is expected to deliver a sermon before the dancing begins, the
text of which follows the general pattern of such declamations
among the more devout Indians over the whole Algonkian-speaking
area, as I have had occasion to observe it. In this
talk he tells the people that they must conduct themselves
as is proper in a ceremonial dance, to show respect to the
aged, to reverence the purpose of the dance and game and
at the same time to extract as much good and enjoyment out
of it as possible because the Creator intends for them to have
it as a period of enjoyment. He sagely observes in closing
that the Creator looks upon his people as his children and
wishes for them to enjoy themselves as such without causing
trouble.

In recent times the reduction of the rite to a mere football 178
game seems to have been the tendency among the Oklahoma 526
Delawares. The main officer is the fire guardian and dance 796^x
promoter known by his office as *pu'tcəl*, who lectures the
participants cautioning them against drinking, violence, scuffling
or the leveling off of grudges during the game and dance.
The dance song is accompanied by the water-drum. There [534
are both women's dances and the ordinary "Stomp" or 535]
leading dances, and then mixed dances continuing through
the night. The concluding dance is the parting dance, the
so-called Drunken Dance, which terminates all Delaware
social dance gatherings and takes place just before the break
of dawn (see p. 98).

After the first night of the dance it is held over again for
several nights, usually taking place the last of each week, the
dance lasting over Saturday night.

The general details of the football game are as follows. 796^x
The opposite sides are composed of an equal number of men 526
and women. There are two goals, one at each end of the
smooth area known as the football ground. The goal poles
are two uprights eight or nine feet in height set about four

×796
526 feet apart. To score a goal the ball must go between these poles. The opponents are allowed to throw and wrestle with each other, but must not hurt one another intentionally. The game is played for a score of twelve or twenty goals. The record of goals secured is kept by a score-keeper who is provided with a number of sharp sticks one of which he sticks into the ground as each goal is won by the sides. [525] Wagering is customary, and ribbons, beads, breastpins, bracelets or money are placed in a pile on the outcome of the contest.

Mention should be made of the ball. It is composed of a bundle of deer hair sewed in buckskin cover and is about eight inches in diameter.

When the ball season has reached its end about the close of June, the chief orders the discontinuation of the game. And after the final game he takes the ball and makes a speech saying that the season is now to be closed until the next year. At the conclusion of his speech he takes the deer-hair filling out of the ball and cuts the cover in halves. This is the sign to all that the football festival season is over.[3]

SPRING PRAYER

×796
782
539

Elaŋgu'ndieŋgʷ	wani'ci·	yu'kwe	ki·'ckwi·k	təli·'
My kindred	I am thankful	now	this day	that

mɔcaᵉ'tamɔneᵉn	elki·'kwi·	wəleᵉləm·u'k·weŋg	ə'nda
we are thinking	how	the blessings	when

ko'xən·a	keᵉtan'to'wi·t'	mɔcaᵉ'lkweŋg	ɔk	kəneᵉ'mɔneᵉn
our father	Great Spirit	remembers us	and	we can see

təli·'	i·'ka	peᵉteᵉ'ləmuk·oᵉ'neᵉn	ə'nda	si·'kwunami·'eŋgʷ
that	so to now	we live to see	when	it is spring time we see together

wu'ndji·	wəlaᵉteᵉ'nami·'neᵉn	ə'nda	neᵉ'meŋgᵉ	weᵉ'mi·
that is why	we are thankful rejoice	when	we see	every

ke'ko	li'	sa'k·ɑn	ɔk	kəmuxoᵉ'msəŋaᵉ'nɑk	hi·'t'kuk
thing	how	coming up	and	our grandfathers	trees

saᵉ'k·ali·'yɔk	yu'kwe	weᵉ'mi·	eləmaᵉ'kami·k'	wəli·naᵉ'-
they send out bud	now	all	over the universe	looks

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[3] Later information states that the ball is not destroyed at the end of the game except when it was conducted upon the principle of the Shawnee ruling which prevailed in Delaware tradition through the influence of this tribe.

kwot' weᵉ'mi· ski·'k'ᵛ ɔk na'xpon·e ki·lawu's·ɔna 796ˣ
fine all vegetation and also our grain 782

ɔk me'homawɑ's·iŋg neᵉ'xkɔt' pe'a'lami· ki·ci·'k·iŋ 539
and our fruit ["what we pick"] it shows being begins growing.

na'xpon·e k'tama'ndamoneᵉn e'nda pe'tci· k'cot·e'kaŋg
And also we feel it when as puts forth heat,

na'ni· t'xą'sona ki·'cux wimbone'm'koᵉna ɔk nahali·'
he our elder brother the sun. He sympathizes with us and besides

neᵉ'ki·k moxoᵉ'mɑɔn·a'nɑk peᵉt'ha'k·oweᵉyɔk ə'nda
these our grandfathers thunders when

mi·'lkweŋgᵛ te'p·i· m'bi·'ᵗ weᵉ'mi· da' ne'ni· tɔ'li·xtun
they give us plenty of water. All is that created

koᵉ'xɔna gi·'ceᵉlɔmu'kɔŋg'. i·'l·i·haŋgᵛ weᵉ'mi· ma'nitu
by our father the Creator even it is said every spirit

paᵉ'tamą kɔ'ha ta'm'se pɔn·da'wɔnaᵉ'nɑk moxoᵉ'-
prays because sometimes we hear our

mɑɔnaᵉ'nɑk hit'kuk tɔ'li· me'mendɔweᵉneᵉ'yɔ ə'n·da
grandfathers trees, that they pray earnestly when

wani·' keᵉ'cxiŋg i'ka pɔmi·'hil·aᵉt' tepi·a' wundji·-
the wind there go by that is enough for [to make]

aweᵉ'n pɔna'elɔ'ndamɔn ɔk wundji· wɔlaᵉteᵉ'nami·n
anyone thinking and on account of it to bring happiness

ə'n·da neŋg koᵉ'xɔna mwi·'kɔmɔɛ·uwa'k·an elki·'kwi·
when he sees our father his works of wonder how

wɔli·'ka'k·uŋg ki·'kaxtiŋge. Cela'han·e elaŋgu'ndieŋgᵛ
well it affects us all the year. This is my kindred

lap'tu'naxgat' aleᵉpɔ'ndowa'k·an yu'kwe yu'ni·
the formula of prayer this here

eᵉlim'kɔ't·ɑk.
of this kind.

Free Translation.

My kindred, I am thankful now as we are thinking upon the blessings received when our Father, the Great Spirit, remembers us. And we can see how up until now we have lived along so that we can all together observe the coming of springtime. Wherefore we rejoice when we see how every-

x 776 thing is coming forth, and how our grandfather's trees are
762 sending out their buds. And now everywhere throughout the
539 land appears in beauty all the green growth and likewise our grains, while also the fruits that we gather show forth the beginnings of growth. And we also feel it as he is coming to send forth heat, that one our elder brother the sun. He has sympathy for us. And then, besides, those grandfathers of ours the Thunders as they give us an abundance of water. Everything is the doing of our Father the Creator. And it is even said that all the Spirit forces (manitu) pray, because sometimes we hear them, our grandfathers, the trees, as they earnestly commune in prayer when the wind passes by through them. It is enough to set anyone thinking and should be a cause for happiness when he beholds the marvelous works of our Father, and how well they work for our benefit all the year through. And that now, my kindred, is the formula of prayer for this kind of traditional rite here.

1 [erratum.-Analyst]

[p. 78]

THE CORN HARVEST CEREMONY

xaskwi·'mi· la·keyɔ'k·an, "Corn Ceremony"

The Delawares celebrated the conclusion of the corn or 796x maize bearing season with a festival of thanksgiving in which acknowledgement was made to mother Corn for the blessings of abundance, and an appeal made for the continuation of health, a form of blessing never forgotten for a moment by Delaware supplicants. The ceremony has analogies among all the eastern tribes, the underlying elements of worship being much the same all over the area of the maize complex. The Delaware festival is not preserved for us in rich detail unfortunately. The following notes on its procedures and the religious sentiments involved seem to be all that we have on record. Wi·tapano'xwe expresses himself in the text to the full extent of his knowledge on this important celebration.

While the speech-making and feasting seem to follow the usual Delaware type of feasting rite, a particular feature appears in the manner in which the Corn anniversary is announced among the people a week or so before it takes place. This feature amounts to a formalistic procedure. In this performance two messengers dressed in suits of corn-husk clothing and wearing masks with corn husk "hair" ride through the Delaware settlements as a signal that the ceremony will soon occur. But they enact a strange symbol. Carrying a small quantity of excrement in a side pouch they 796x smear the substance upon the persons of those they encounter 514 en route who do not offer them at once a gift no matter how trifling. We shall hear of the strange practice in the texts to follow. The purpose of this punishment for disregard of the obligation toward the messengers seems to lie in the motive of enforcing obedience and even fear in case of refusal to comply with the exacting demands of tradition in regard to religious duties among the Delawares. This note of fidelity to ancient customs is dominant in the minds of the conservax 796 514 tives, and the founders of these rites, whoever they were, seem to have made suitable provision against public indifference. In the words of the informant, no one is apt to disregard the call to obey religious custom in view of the consequences. And there may have been some idea of making an offering to mother Corn as well in this rite. Its origin dates from the first conception of the corn ceremony as the text relates.[1] The individuals whose duty it is to enact this part are hence called "excrement daubers," and their identity is, as might naturally be expected, kept in the dark. The rite itself is called *we'mui·ha'lɔwe·s* "excrement daubing."

x 796 778 Of the masks used in this rite we have mention of several specimens obtained from *Ni·ka'ni·paxozwe*, "Leading walker" (Joe Washington) of the same band in Oklahoma (Fig. 1, *A* and *B*).[2] They represent the features of masks requisitioned in the rites of the Corn Harvest Ceremony as celebrated by the Wolf division. According to the memory of Joe Washington, from whom they were obtained, the mask (*A*) with black on the forehead and chin part and the middle face-portion of red, was employed by the mask messenger and dancer of the Wolf division in his *midday* appearances. [822] The dark upper and lower bands of color represent darkness before dawn and after sunset; the lighter center, the middle of the day. The other (*B*) with the upper face area black and the lower red was worn in the rites of the *early morning and evening.*

x 796 [815] The corn ceremony itself seems to be known only through general description on the part of our informant who had the account of it from his mother. She had seen the rite when she was young. As will be seen its characteristics are those of the usual Delaware feasting festivals. There are the addresses by the speaker chosen for the occasion, the women having prepared beforehand the amount of hominy

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[174] [1] One of the Delaware authorities, J. A. Parks, states in recent correspondence that he thinks the "excrement dauber" rite belonged originally to the Shawnee. Joe Washington, who had witnessed the rite when a young man, attributes the custom to the Seneca "introduced a long time ago to the Delawares."

[173] [2] Specimen *A* (model, 4½ x 5½ inches) is of oak with cap portion, over top and back, of trimmed deer skin, with shredded corn stalk "hair," *B* is similar in construction, 6 x 8 inches. Unlike Iroquois masks there are no little bags of tobacco offering attached to Delaware images.

and corn bread required for the feast, and the first part of 796x
the day is spent in dancing to the songs that tradition has bequeathed for the rite, and as with the other feasts the ceremonial dance is terminated in an all-night session of mixed or social dances.

The corn dance is led by the two men wearing the corn husk costumes and masks. These performers take a turn at dancing, then a group of women take a turn. The women too have a pair of leaders but they wear no masks. After the social dances have been enjoyed, to which the night following is given over, the ceremony is concluded with what is called a Drunken dance. The drummers pick up and carry the drum and rattles, and lines of both sexes dance slowly in a circle around them. For this last act there are also specific songs.

So much for the objective aspects of the Corn Ceremony. 796x
As the text tells us its origin is believed to have sprung out 773
of a famine, due evidently to some displeasure felt by the mani'tu. For some reason the corn "left" the Indians. When all the leading men had assembled to consider the matter they decided to devise some means by which the corn could be induced to come back. The result was to conceive the ceremony as we learn of it, the announcement of the occasion and the leading of the dance itself to be under the auspices of the men wearing masks of corn-husks. This origin concept reminds one strongly of the stress conditions in some ancient time that gave rise to the Big House ceremony, in the origin of which the displeasure of the world-controlling spirits is a prominent influence.

As a part of the corn complex of North America the cere- 796x
monies that received so much attention in the religious development of the Indians are to be considered in the future as an important and absorbing topic for comparative and analytical treatment.

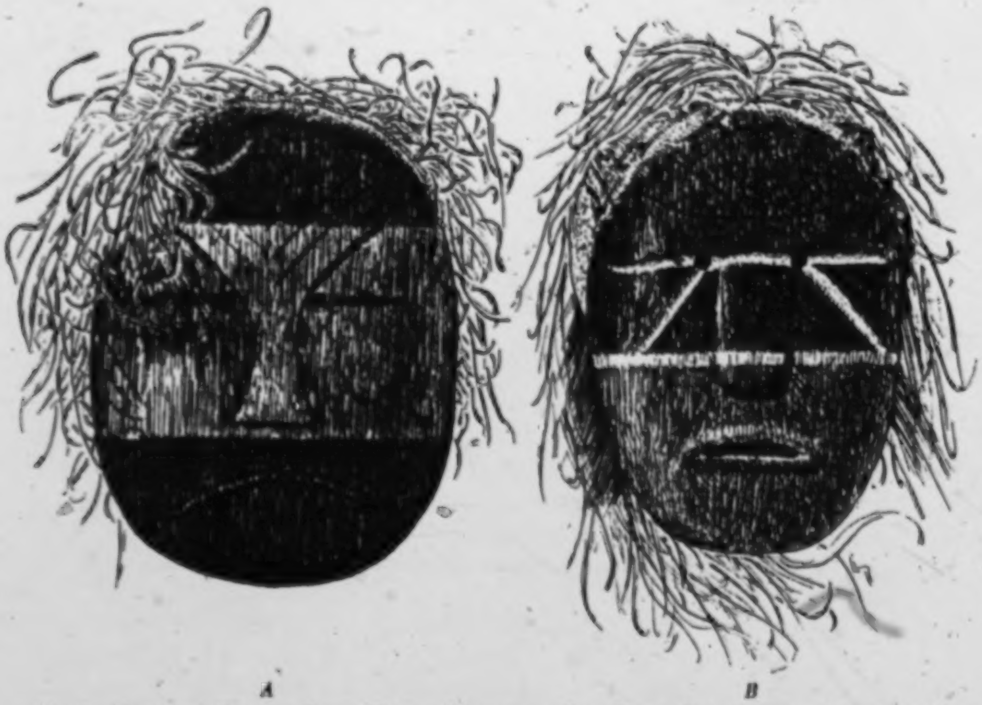

FIG. 1. DELAWARE RED AND BLACK WOODEN MASKS WITH CORN-HUSK "HAIR" WORN BY OFFICER IN MASK CEREMONY (p. 80). *A*. Worn during mid-day performances (reproduction 5½ inches in length). *B*. Worn during morning and evening performances. The spacing of the red and black colors represents the proportion of light and dark, morning and evening (*B*), and in mid-day (*A*). (Sketch by M. H. Wheeler.)

532
778
82a

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape,

ORIGIN OF THE CORN HARVEST CEREMONY

Lə'mwe we'ək'hak·ami·'k·e k'ti·'hiləs·taohən·aᵉ'nαk 796x 539 .773
Long ago in beginning of the world we have heard

ki·'kagoyəmən·aᵉni'ŋga təli·' loweᵉneᵉ'yɔ wa'ni· xaskwi·'m
our ancient dead how they said the corn

lɔ'mwe ngat'ha'k·e. wi·xka'utci hund' ka'it·i a'ləmi·
long ago migrated went away. All of a sudden it was slowly began

xi·'hi·l·eᵉ aha'ləwi· k'təma'k·eᵉlən·damowa'k·an·u. ka'heli·
to lessen more and more it grew pitiful. Many

aweᵉ'n nunde''həl·e me'hmi·'tciŋ eᵉ'li· lɔ'mwe nɔ'tci·
people were in need of food because long ago since

na'lowan xaskwi·'m tə'n·da ni·'kani·xi·'nαn weᵉ'mi·
this corn it was was leading food all

wi·'lawəs· na'wundji· me'hmawə'nsiŋg ɔk wi·yu's.
grain from that fruit and meat.

Ge'həl·a meᵉtci·'gai k'təmaᵉ'ksu et'
Very deplorable pitiful evidently it must have been

weᵉ'mi· aweᵉ'n. ə'nda me'tci· hwi·'la
all persons. When now in perplexity baffled

leᵉlən·dami·''t·i·t' ki·kago'yəmən·ani'ŋga na' lo'weᵉn
as to what to think of to do our ancient ancestors then it was said,

"ma'ema''t·am weᵉ'mi· aweᵉ'ni·k a'kənutəmu't·am
"Let us gather all persons to council

tət·a aᵉ' eᵉlaehɔ's·ieŋg wu'ndji· kα'ski· wi·nowa'meŋg
what could we take action so that can we plead with

gahe's·ən·a təli·'tc ma't·a tci·mi·' ngałkoᵉ'neᵉn."
our mother so that will not forever leave us".

Nane'ceᵉ wundji·'xαn təli·' aləmi·' mani·'haᵉn
That is whence the beginning that beginning the making

wani lən·a'pe yu'li·l mwe'müi·halə'wes·a'. lo'weᵉn
the Delawares these excrement-rubbers. It is said

tcani·'laeha'wəna wa'ni· gahe's·əna nane'' wu'ndji·
we have offended this our mother that is reason

alə'mskaᵉn. yu'kwe elaŋgu'ndieŋg yu'kwe ceᵉ'
she is leaving. Now my kindred this is

ha't·e eᵉlaehɔ'sieŋg pi·pi·'li· aweᵉ'n
how a way here we can take action first one person and another

x 796 ha't·e e'loweᵉt' yu'ni· aᵃ aləwi·ⁱ'. cuk' kwun·a'eke
539 a plan here to say "This here is better." But at last
773 ə'nda ki·ca'kenuta's·i·k lo'weᵉn mani·ha'wəna ni·'ca'
when it was considered in council, it was said we will make two
əp'skwi·' wucki'ŋgɔ ək nahəli·' cakhukwi·'yan ək
corn shucks face-masks and including coat and
kako·'nan weᵉ'mi əp'skwi·ⁱ'. yu'kwe e'nxan a'cəwi·
leggings all corn husks. Now each change of
ga'xtiŋ mae'hel·aᵃn ək ha't·eᵉtc ək ki·'ci·maᵉn
year we will gather and there will be a plan and they will be selected
aweᵉ'ni·k' nenu'nami''ti·t' yu'ni· laᵃ'keᵉyɔ'kan.
people who will own and control this ceremony.

Ni·ca' lə'n·owak pi·pi·'nawən i'k·a elhala''ti·t'
Two men are chosen who shall wear
neᵉ'li·l mwe'həmwi·ha'ləweᵉs ehałkwi·'tci· kexu'k·wəni·
the excrement rubbers clothes, costume for a few days
a'paᵃmaᵃ'mehel·eᵉ'yək eᵉli·'k'hat·iŋ. weᵉhəmaᵃ's·uwak
they go about neighborhood. They notify the people
li·' meᵉ'tci· gici·'m'kət' ehel·ak'hi'k·wi· laᵃ'k·eᵉt'
that now is arranged by rule the time for ceremony
nani·aweᵉ'n neᵉnənuᵉ'naŋg neni·' xaskwi·'mi·
by that person who controls that corn
laᵃk'eyɔ'k·an. ək ə'nda tə't·a aweᵉ'n ngi·'skaət'
festival celebration. And when any one meet with
neᵉ'li·l mwe''həmwi·haᵃləwe's·a' eᵉli· mhi't·aəŋge's·axpu
that excrement rubber because he rides horseback
ma't·a aweᵉ'n ke'ko mi·'lat·e kwi·la'elek' weᵉ'mi·
so one anything gives him without a doubt all
elki·'k'ʷsi·t' cahu'k·u mwi·' eᵉ'li· na'ni·-
over his person will be rubbed with excrement because that
ci·'xkandj li·'xan.
established rule.

meᵉ'tci· a'pa'mi·ta ə'nda kwu't·ət·sa'nd·eᵉk na'
Now about when one week then
mae'həl·aᵉn nalən·e'' wani·' lən·a'pe eləwe'ldaŋg
they gather that is what the Delaware call
mwe'həmwi·haləwe's kant'ke'uheᵉn. lə'mwe a''powak
excrement-rubber made him dance. Long ago there were

lə'n·owak we'ɔtu'xti·t' neᵉli·'l asuwa'k·ɑn·a ne'n' 796ˣ
men who knew those songs that 539

hakalkɔ't·ɑk. ɔk a'poᵘ'pan·i·k pu'tcəl·ɑk yu'kwe 773
were used. And used to have ushers.[3] Here

weᵉ'mi· me'hmi·'tciŋg n'haka'lkət cuk' sa'p·aᵃn
all kinds of food is used but hominy

pi·'peᵉ'k·a saᵉ'psi·n na'lənen naxpaleᵉ'tamaᵃn ɔ'nda
very thin hominy is cooked that is what is raised up the prayer when

wi·'nowa'mənd' na'ni· kaheᵉ's·ɔna xa'skwi·m. tɔ't·a
they are pleading that our mother corn. As long

seᵃka'usi·t' wa'ni· elha'k·eᵉt' wunɔ·'xtun. meᵉ'tci
as he is living the controller (of the ceremony) will carry it on. Now

ə'nda wi·ka'usi·t' nɑtc' tami·'mɑsəm·a tɔ'nhuk·-
when the end of life (died) these his children handed

əma'ɔn wu'ndji· ekala'mi· e'laŋgoma'tci·'
down from that on according to relationship

yukwe' meᵉ'tci ə'nda aləmi·' ma'ohiŋg a'po'wɑk
Here now when beginning the dance there are

xkweᵉ'yɑk ɔk lə'n·owɑk wi·'xɑni'xti·t·'. ɔ'nda meᵉ'tci·
women and men who do cooking. When now

laet'puᵘ'kwi·k' na' laha'p·a xa'n·di·n wa'ni·
midnight then stop they pass food to eat the

elha'k·eᵉt' ɔk elaŋgoᵘ'matci· ɔk nah·el·i·' neᵉ'ki·k'
master-of-ceremony and his kindred and also those

pu'tcelɑk təli·' xaŋgeᵉneᵉ'yɔ'. meᵉ'tci· e'nda ki'ci·
ushers for they pass the food around. Now when finished

mi·tsa''tiŋg na' la'p·i· aləma'ohi·n eᵉ'li· naneli·'xɑn
eating then again they begin dancing because it is rule

li·' ɔ'p·an·aohi·n.
to dance till morning.

Naceᵉ' wa'ni· kikwi·aweᵉ'n peᵉm'tu'nheᵉt' lo'weᵉ
There the old person to do talking says

meᵉ'tci· kɔ'p·an·axi·nhɔ'm·ən·a ge'həl·a wani'ci· ə'nda
"Now we see daylight very indeed thankful because

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[3] The same as the office of *a'ckaᵉs*, attendant, in the Big House ceremony. The ushers belong to the same ceremonial group (Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise) as the controller or master of ceremonies. They are generally men who are not capable of taking more serious parts in the dances.

x 796 ne'eŋg xą'san·a təli·' la'p·i· ɔxe·'tam·ako·'ne·n
539 we see our brother [the sun] because again he gives us light
773 we·'mi· elama·'kami·k. ɔk ci·'ki· e'nda wəla·'tena-
all over the world. And very nice when we are in good

mi·'eŋg wuni·t'pų·'kwe e'nda wi·'tauhi·'meŋg· wa'ni·
spirits all night long when we dance with that

gahe's·əna xa'skwi·m. ɔk la'p·i· gaxti'ŋge aye'ma-
our mother corn. And again in a year if we should

pe·'tci· wəlama'ki·e'ŋgwe pe·'tci· ma'e wimbəne·'-
come we are well arriving come to we shall

mawəna na'ni· ełha'k·e·t' ɔk kwi·'tci· wi·nowe'hən·a
sympathize that master-of-ceremony and with help we beg a blessing

we'ndji·aik mehemi·'tciŋg ɔk yu'ni· lən·a'p·eyɔ'k·an
where belongs food and this Delaware soul

ɔk ənahal·e·' we·'mi· ke'ko gi·'celəmu'kuk. te'pi·
and also all things created. This will

laha'p·a wəla·'ha xa'n·e· kahe·'li· ke'ko ge·'ski·
be all for now although there is yet many things I could

a· lowe·'ya cuk' kɔ'təmaksi·'həna. na'ne ci·'xkαndj
to say but we are pitiful, poor. That is all

me·'tci· gaski·' ləs·i·'ne·n. yu wani'ci·.
now can do under the circumstances. Now I thank you.

Free Translation.

Long ago in the beginning of the world we have heard from our ancient deceased how they said the corn went away. All of a sudden it gradually began to lessen and things grew more and more miserable. Many people were in need of food because for a long time the corn was the principal nourishment among all the grains, fruits and even meat.

Deplorable indeed and pitiful were all the people. Whereupon in perplexity as to what might be thought of to do, it was said among our ancient ancestors, "Let us gather together all the people into council as to what can be done to plead with our mother so that she will not leave us forever." From this originated in the beginning the custom among the Delawares of the excrement-daubers. It was said, we have offended our "mother," that is the reason why she is leaving

us. Now, kindred, this is the way in which we can take 796x
action, first one person's idea then another's saying "This 539
one is better." But at last when it had been pondered in 773
council it was declared that we should make two corn husk
face-masks, and a coat and leggings all of cornhusks. Now
at each change of the years we shall gather and carry out a
way so that certain people will be selected who will own and
control this ceremony.

Two men are chosen who shall wear the excrement- 796x
daubers' costume, to go through the neighborhood for a few 539
days. They notify the people that now according to the
rulings is the time for the ceremony by that individual who
has charge of the Corn Festival ceremony, and when anyone
is encountered, as they ride about on horseback, who shall
give nothing to them infallibly he shall be rubbed over with
excrement because that is the established ruling.

Now in about one week they gather together for what the
Delawares call the Excrement-dauber dance. Long ago
there were men who knew these songs that were required.
And they used to have ushers. Here all kinds of food were [262]
used, but especially hominy made very thin; cooked hominy is
what was offered with the prayer when they were pleading
with our "mother" Corn. As long as he was living the controller of the ceremony would carry it out. Then when he reached the end of his life his children handed it down from then on according to relationship.

Here now when the dance was beginning there were women and men who did the cooking. And now when it was midnight they would stop and pass around the food to eat, the master of the ceremony his kindred and also the ushers passing the food around. So when they had finished eating then they began dancing again, because it was the rule to dance until morning.

Then the old person appointed to do the talking would say, "Now that we see daylight we are very thankful indeed because we see our elder brother (the sun) as he again gives us light all over the world. And it is grand when we are in good spirits after dancing all night long with her who is our

x 796
539 "mother," Corn. And again in a year if we should come together and if we are well as we come, we shall sympathize with the controller of the ceremony and help him beg a blessing from whence comes the source of food and the soul of the Delaware and all created things. This is all for now although there are yet many things that I could say, but we are so pitiful. This is all that I can do now under the circumstances. Now I thank you."

THE MESSENGERS OF THE CORN HARVEST FEAST

lɔ'mwe wunda''kwi· wehe'ndji·ɔ'p·aŋg eᵉlai·'k·eᵉt·e
Long ago back in the east dwelt when

wa'ni· lən·a'p·e ahi·' xeᵉlənau''ki· ha't·eᵉpʻ eᵉlha'k·eᵉtʻ.
the Delawares very were many kinds as to their ceremonies.

yukwe' meᵉ'tci· təmaᵃ'ksu eᵉ'li· a'hi· meᵉ'tci· nunda''-
Here now miserable because very now lacking

həmaᵉ. cu'kwund di·'hilaleᵉ'pwɔm'pʻkeᵉ'nen lɔ'mwenɔ'tci·
in strength. But then we have been cautioned long ago since

ki·kayo'yəməna'niŋga lowe'yɔkhaŋg kwən·a'eᵉk·etcʻ
our ancestors past who said it is said, finally we will be

kwi·lalə's·u wa'ni· ləna'p·e na'lən·e eᵉlowę'si·k
unable the Delaware, that is what they called

kwi·łkoᵘ'na wa'ni· weɔ'p·si·t·.
we are being swallowed, overcome the white men.

kwut·enau''ki: eᵉlhak·eᵉ'təpʻ wami·' lənap·e lowe'su
One kind ceremony that was the Delawares called

mwe'həmwi·haᵉ'ləweᵉs. mɔ'ohowa'k·an aləwi·'haŋg
Excrement Rubber. His dance ceremony more than said

kwu't·ənsa'ndeᵉ poma'mehɔl·eᵉ'yɔk ni·'ca mwe'həmwi·-
one week[4] they travel about two Excrement

haᵉ'ləweᵉs·ɑk. weᵉ'hɔm·a's·uwɑk weᵉ'mi· eᵉ'li·kʻha't·iŋg
Rubbers. They notify them all the neighborhood

təli·'' meᵉ'tci· we'ndjaʻki·neᵉ'yo ɔk wunda's·u ki·'-
that now they prepare and set the

ckwi·k eᵉłki·'kwi· aləmi·'hil·aᵃkʻ nekni· eᵉlhak·e''ti·tʻ.
day how when begin that the ceremony.

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[4] Literally "one Sunday."

ɔk m'hi·'t·e hŋaɔ'ŋgeᵉsa'po'wαk haŋgʷ ɔ'n·da 716 x
And they go on horseback it was said. When 539

pəməs·ka''t·i·t' weᵉ'mi· yu'li·ł eha'kwi·'t·tci· wa'ni·
traveling all these his garments that

mwe'həmwi·haᵉ'ləweᵉs ɔ'p'skɔ' wundji·ta'wαnu'. ɔk
Excrement-Rubber corn shucks made of. And

a'cəwi·luŋgho's·u xeᵉs·i·nu't·e nane'ni· tə'ndalə'n·əmən
across his shoulder skin pouch in that he carries

mwi·'. aweᵉ'ni· e'n·da gi·'skaɔt' eŋha'o ta'k'ta
excrement. Anyone when he meets he must be paid anything

ke'ko i·'l·i· taŋgi't·i· ɔk aweᵉ'n ciŋgeᵉ'nheᵉt·e
something even a small amount, and the person if he refuses to pay

mwi·haᵉ'la eᵉ'li· na'ni· ci·'xkαndj laᵉkoᵘ'wi· ne'ni·
excrement rubbed with because that is the rule that

laᵉk·eyɔ'k·an. ɔk a'paᵉ'mi·ta naxo'k·wuni· a'paᵉma'-
performance. And about three days they run

mehel·eᵉ'yɔk neᵉ'ki·k' mwe'həmwi·haᵉ'ləweᵉs·αk natc'
about those Excrement-Rubbers that

kαndj aləmi·ma'ohi·n. ge'hel·a keᵉ'təmakawe'ni·ya
before [they] begin to dance. Surely I am pitiful

akwᵘ gα's·ki· mayaɔ'xkənuᵘt·αmu'wαn wəl·a'haxa'neᵉ
not can I am unable to relate correctly the detail although

eli·hiləs·ta'o ᵃgi·kayo'yəma loweᵉ'haŋgʷ ɔ'n·da
I have heard my ancient parent always say, said when

taxkɔ'k·iŋg di·'hilαk'hi'k·wi· kα'nt'kaᵉn na'ni·
in the fall is the time how they dance that

mwe'həmwi·haᵉ'ləweᵉs eᵉ'li· na'neni·' di'hilαk'hi'kwi·
Excrement-Rubber because that there is the time

ki·'ci·k·ənami·'n aweᵉ'n wi·'ləwə's·a. cela'hanen
they raise anyone his grain, individual crop. That is what

i·'hilak·əno't·asu ne' laᵉkeᵉ'yɔn.
they related about that performance.

Free Translation.

Long ago back in the east where dwelt the Delawares there were many different kinds of ceremony but here it is pitiful because now strength is sadly lacking. But never-

x 796 theless we have been cautioned for a long time by our deceased
539 fore-parents who declared, it is said, that finally the Dela-
wares will become incompetent, that is, as they called it, we
are being swallowed by the white man.

One kind of ceremony there was, called by the Delawares,
Excrement Rubbing Dance. For more than a week, it is
said, two Excrement Rubbers travel about to notify all those
in the neighborhood that now they are preparing and the
day is set upon which will begin that ceremony. And they
go on horseback, it is said, when traveling. All that they
[292] wear, these Excrement-daubers, is made of corn shucks.
And across his shoulder is a skin-pouch in which he carries
excrement. When he meets any one he must be paid with
something even though it be a small amount [5] and any one
refusing to pay is rubbed with excrement because that is the
rule for that performance. And for about three days they
run about, those Excrement-daubers, before they begin to
dance. Truly am I pitiful that I cannot narrate correctly
the details although I have heard my old parent always say,
in the autumn, is the time when the Excrement-daubers dance
because that is the time when the people harvest their grain
crop. That is how the performance was described.

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[5] A ribbon, a pin, or a piece of tobacco would serve.

PRAYER TO AVERT THUNDER

The appearance of a menacing storm cloud approaching 782
causes the resort to prayer and the performance of a simple 539
rite to avert danger from wind and lightning. The individual
takes an ax, marks it with a cross on the blade by means of
mud or paint, or anything at hand that shows up, and sticks [783]
the handle in the ground or stands it upright so that the blade
will then, he believes, split the body of the storm cloud and
cause it to divide and pass by on each side harmlessly.[1]
When the act is performed he prays and if there is time smokes
a pipe of tobacco as a "sacrifice."

THUNDER PRAYER

Wani'ci	moxoᵘ'msaᵃ	pe't'hak'o'we	ək	keᵉ'pi·	
I thank you	Grandfather	Thunder	and	you also	
mani'tû	kek'ca'xən·ɑᵘ'keᵉs	kəwi·'nowa'məł	təli·'		
Spirit	Wind.	I beg of you	that		
pal·i·'i·	pəmɑ's·kaᵃneᵉ'yɔ	təma'keᵉləmi·'neᵉn	k'tami·'-		
somewhere else	you walk (go by, pass).	have pity on us	your		
mɑ̨səm	ka't·ci·	ap'hi'k·ai·'heŋg	kəne'i·hinɑ		
children.	Do not	run over us (to go over one's land).	You see us		
kət·əmak'si·'hinɑ	moxoᵘ'msaᵃ	naxpaŋgoᵘ'mələn	wa'ni·		
we are pitiful	Grandfather.	we sacrifice	him		
nəmoxoᵘ'mṣəna	k'caᵉ'ta'	ək	kəneᵘ'mən	yu'ni·	peᵉ
our grandfather	tobacco.	And	you see	this	being
ki·ci·'xiŋ	təm·hi·'k·an	na'ni	li·'m'kɔt'	təli·'	paxgi·-
prepared	ax	the	custom	because	it will split
taho'k·wun	ma't·a	paxkeᵉ'yane	ceᵉla'han·en		
you in two	if not	you turn your course, go some other way	that is		
təli·'xtoᵉn	ki·ceᵉləmu'k·ɔŋg	wu'ndji	wataᵉ'k'ʷ		
how it was ordained by	Creator	whence	it is known		

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[1] I hardly need refer to the wide diffusion of this custom in eastern North [771]
America. Without having made a definite search for it I may refer to having heard it mentioned from the Naskapi (Mistassini) of the Labrador peninsula, through the Iroquois (also F. W. Waugh) and Mohegan, southward to the Catawba. It is known also among the negro freedmen of the Cherokee Nation.

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539

tami·′mǫsəm	e′laehɔ′s·i·t′	ə′nda	hwi·′t·aŋg	maxta′n′to
your children	what to do	when	he is in fear of	Evil Spirit

mu′t·aehɔs·uwa′k·an.	kələs·tai·′ne·n	tami·′mǫsəm
destructiveness.	You listen to our pleading	your children

moxoᵘmsa′tuk	na′ne	ci·′xkandj	nga′ski·lə′s·i·n
Grandfathers.	That	is all	I can do

ke·′təmakawe·′ni·ya.	la′p·i·	ndə′ləwe′	wani′ci·.
poor me.	Again	I say	thanks.

Free Translation.

I thank you, Grandfather Thunder, and you also, Spirit-Force Wind. I beg of you that you pass by and go somewhere else. Have pity on us your children. Do not run over our land. You see us how pitiful we are, Grandfather. We offer to you, him our Grandfather Tobacco. And you see this ax being prepared according to the custom. It will split you in two if you do not go another way. That is how it was ordained by the Creator wherefore it is known among your children, Grandfathers. That is all I can do, poor me. Again I say, I thank you.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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PLATE 3

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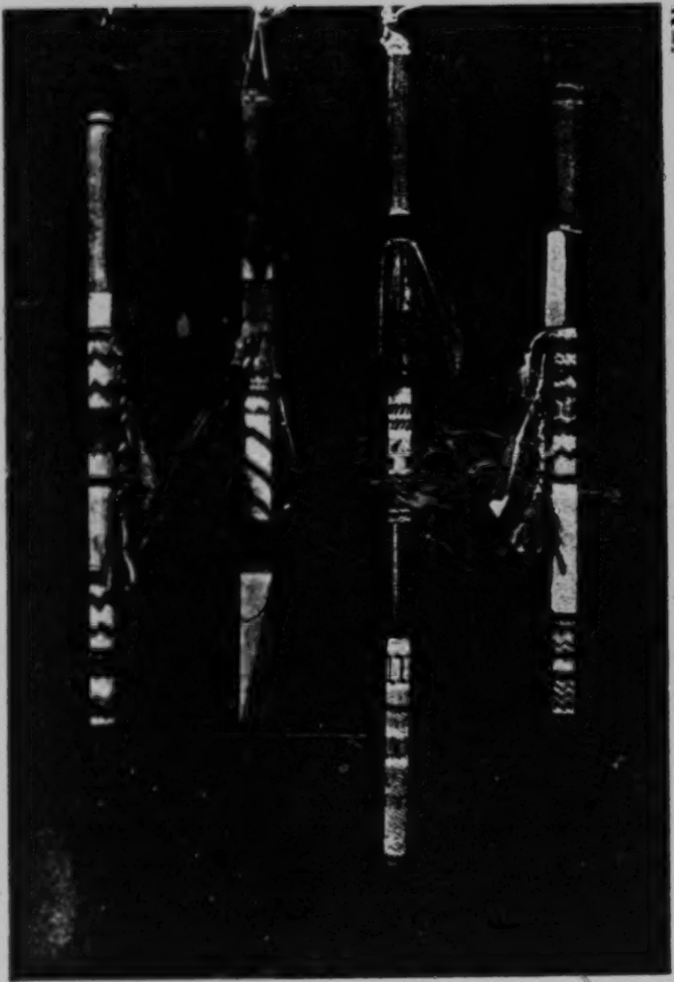

DECORATED WANDS USED BY LEADERS IN SOCIAL DANCES. (Eighteen to twenty inches in length, decorated with bead covering, paint and feather and yarn pendants.) (Photo by F. S. Speck.)

[Facing p. 93]

SOCIAL OR "STOMP" DANCES

No treatment of Delaware ceremonies and dances could 535
be considered complete without mention of the Social or 174
Round Dances, even allowing for the inevitable ignorance which will always exist in matters so intimate in the life of preliterate peoples. The performances are inseparable from many of the more serious rites as an aftermath to the devotional period for which the assemblies are specifically called. The Round Dances seem to be general properties of the eastern and southeastern tribes. One gets the impression from observing their performance that there has been extensive informal diffusion of this type of dance from some older center of ceremonial development in which they were once symbol rites of a more serious nature. I would hazard a guess that they may have arisen from the ceremonial institutions of some groups in the southeastern culture area and been carried far and wide to those sections of the country where we now find them. In recent times the Delawares indulged extensively in these dances, and when questioned as to their possible earlier history, they profess to know no more than that they are early acquired property of the Nation supposedly from the Creeks and Shawnee. Analysis
of the song types by Dr. Herzog may afford a clue. My 535
study has not included more detailed treatment of social dances than plain description. At present they cannot be considered as possessing ulterior religious motives. Whatever they are, more specific attention as a group is called for. They are circular in movement, contra-clockwise, in single and double lines conducted by a leader. The particulars are given under the title headings. The names that the separate dances of this category possess are possibly indicative of southeastern sources, for instance there is the Stirrup Dance in which at a given period the woman side-partner of the man places one foot upon his instep as he dances next to her, both hopping along for an interval on one foot. Another is

535 the Cherokee Dance, others the Shawnee Dance, the Woman's Dance and so on, differentiated chiefly through their songs, all falling under the classification of Stomp, Social, or Round Dances, the favorites of the various tribes now domiciled in Oklahoma.

STOMP DANCE, *Ni·ka·'n'ka·n*, "LEADING DANCE"

534 The procedure normally among the Delawares in carrying
535 out the features of the widespread Lead, or Stomp Dance, seems to be for the leader to head the column of dancers without shaking time with the hand rattle. The drum is not called for. Despite the supposition that these dances emanated from the cultural influence of the Creeks, it appears that, unlike the latter, the Delawares did not show the feature of having the women, who dance immediately behind the leader, wear the cluster of tortoise shell leg-rattles. Nevertheless a specimen of Box Tortoise shell (Plate 4), arranged to be tied to the leg of a dancer was obtained in Oklahoma from Tom Long Bone who indicated that it had been worn attached to the leg of a dance-leader in social dances.

The garter rattle of deer hoofs attached to a leather strip tied below each knee around the leg is shown in Fig. 3. The hoofs are strung around the leather on thongs, two or three in each cluster. This jingler is asserted to have been worn only in Social dances by Joe Washington who owned it. Another specimen, from Wi·tapano'xwe, has a cluster of thirty pendant deer hoofs strung in the center half of the leather leg band eight inches long and three wide with double tie strings (Pl. 4).

535 The major personage of these dances is the *ne'ni·ka·'nka·s*, "dance leader," whose function is to head the line of dancers of both sexes and all ages who follow him in single file as he leads in a circle turning from right to left. The Delaware
293 dance leader may also employ a short decorated stick or wand
535 held upward in the hand to accent his movements. Some
532 six or seven specimens of the leaders' wands, obtained from the Washington family, are interesting and beautiful. They range between two and two and a half feet in length, decorated

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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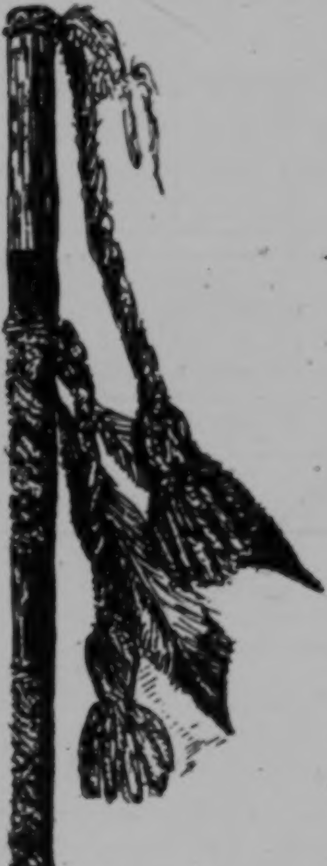

FIG. 2. DELAWARE DANCE LEADER'S STAFF, decorated with symbolical beadwork, [redacted] pendants and yarn (length, eighteen inches).

PLATE 4

[Facing p. 96]

Poses Showing Manner of Using Rattles in Rites.

Left, Turtle shell hand rattle as held in Dream Recitation Rite. Right, Deer hoof knee or garter rattles as worn in Social Dances. (Photo by F. S. Speck.)

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

273 with carving, paint, tightly woven diagonal-technique bead-
535 work, and feather pendants, single or in small clusters, as
592 the illustrations show (Fig. 2). The carving is usually in block form, the exposed wood painted blue, yellow, or red, and the beadwork designed as it is on staffs used in the Peyote rites, all showing the influence of Peyote symbolism in their decoration. The feathers attached are usually those of the flicker (yellow shafted woodpecker) to denote the sacred power invested in this bird which has a black moon-marked breast, and sometimes parrot feathers obtained from the traders. On one specimen a strip of soft muskrat fur around the staff represented an admonition to "be polite," at the dance, avoiding loudness and vulgarity which might cause trouble.

535 According to the occasion, his musical equipment may be
172 a hand-rattle. His lead songs are of the type in which a measure is sung by him alone when the dancers respond with a corresponding shorter measure in which the syllables vary only somewhat. These dances are most popular and seem to be growing in favor among the Indians of Oklahoma. In fact, within the last four or five years Delaware dance leaders have introduced them among the Osage, as is the case of Tom Half Moon himself.

535 While we have as yet no detailed accounts of such social-
171 ceremonial pastimes among the still practicing groups to serve as a basis for comparative treatment, I can testify to having observed them over a wide area in the east, indeed from the Penobscot, and other Wabanaki of the northeast, and the Iroquois and Shawnee to the Cherokee, Creek and Yuchi of the Gulf area. The purpose, however, is not to discuss them here. The known history of many of these dances throughout the area proves a case of diffusion from tribe to tribe as they are deliberately carried by visiting dance leaders. We have knowledge of a number of introductions among the Iroquois from colonial times to the present.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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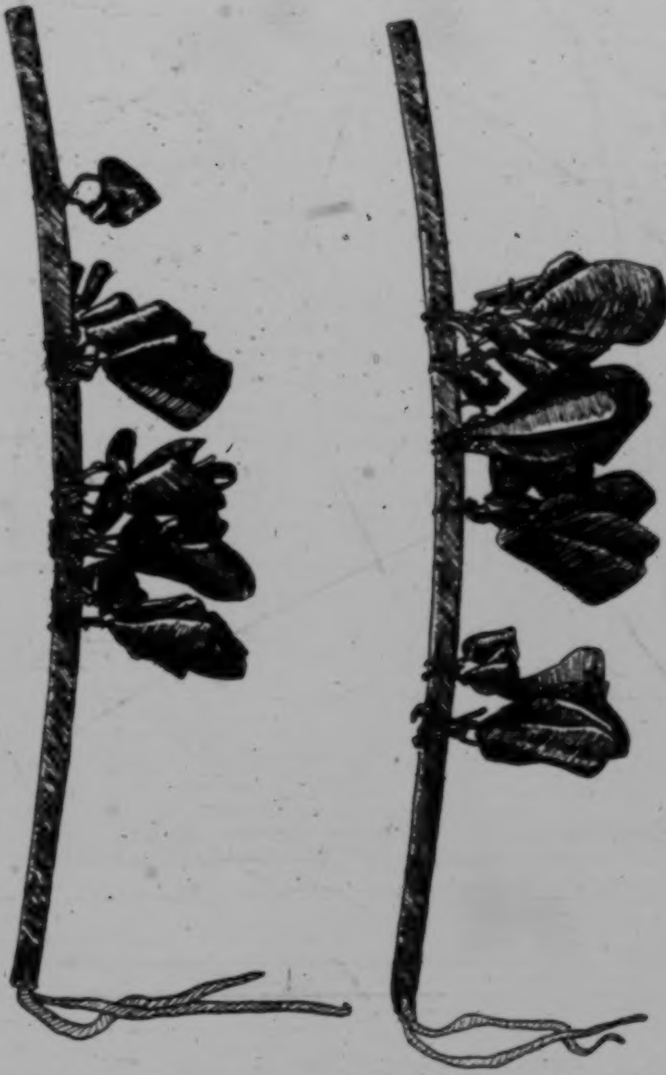

Fig. 3. Deer Hoof Knee or Garter Rattles Worn by Men in Social Dances (length, twelve inches). (Collection of S. W. Pennypacker.)

TURKEY DANCE

535 One of the performances of the Stomp Dance complex is remembered as bearing the name *Tci·kənə'm'kaᵃn*, "Turkey Dance." In this the leader, while going around, waves his hands as a sign that it is time for the women desiring to enter to join in with the men whom they have selected as partners. There seem to be no other particulars worthy of mention in connection with this as a special feature of a social dance as described by Joe Washington.

BEAN DANCE

Another specific performance in the Stomp Dance series was described as *Maᵃlaxʷsi·'tkaᵃn*, "Bean Dance," in which the leader carried a gourd rattle, while those who formed the dance line linked themselves by holding hands from the beginning throughout the dance.

DRUNKEN DANCE

The last dance of a night series is one in which the assembly, after circling around the fire as in the usual manner of the lead-dances, follows the leader (outdoors) to disband in view of the first streaks of light as the dawn approaches. Its movement is to bunch up in a cluster. The action is for two leaders to carry water-drums followed by two singers with gourd rattles circling the fire. As the song proceeds the men close in around the drummers forming in a bunch. The women dancers form a circle outside the men and join in the song. The movement of the dance and the song slows down. It is to be noted that some of the song stanzas are "rather sarcastic or saucy, sort of scornful between the sexes in a playful way" in the quaint phraseology of the informant.

This dance is the formal termination of a succession of social dances. The drums are thus formally "carried out," their service concluded for the night. I am not able to explain why it is called by the specific name that it bears.

CEREMONIAL GAMES

The Moccasin Game Ceremony

Tci·pa'xkwi nal·ə't·i·n "Moccasin Game."—Within recent 524 generations, probably since the Delawares have resided in the west, as tradition notes, the Moccasin Game was played in this Nation as a pastime. But since the memory of the now living older people its performance as an amusement has stopped and the game has become associated only with the rites performed upon the occasion of funerals. Again disintegration of old customs has relegated its performance to nothing more than a memory, as we are told by Joe Washington that to his knowledge the last time this game had been carried out in connection with the funeral ceremony was about 1910. The Delaware form of this widespread Indian game ceremony is described from his memory in the following terms.

The Delawares played a moccasin game under the management of two men as leaders who were not members of the same ceremonial group (Tortoise, Wolf, Turkey) as the deceased person at whose funeral rite the performance took place. These men were usually the pall-bearers, and against them as opponents were two women of a similar classification. These pairs did the guessing for their respective sides. They built a fire in the stove and played the game all night. In the game four moccasins were provided by each side, and the object, a cartridge, small bone or a bullet, was hidden beneath the moccasins by each side in turn, the whereabouts of which was guessed at by the opposite side. The players, male and female, sat on opposite sides of the room in the house where the corpse lay. Each side had the four moccasins spread out side by side on the floor in front of its chief player. To one side sat the drummers who sang the moccasin game songs during the performance using the water-drum. Each side had its own songs which were sung by the drummers during

524 the time when it held the guessing hand. There was also a man appointed on each side to keep score by means of counter sticks. When the cartridge, bone or bullet was hidden by the leaders of one party, the leader of the opposite side had to guess under which moccasin it was concealed. The guessing was indicated by means of finger signs, a wave of the open hand to the right or to the left meant either of the end moccasins, by lowering the third finger of the pointing hand the third moccasin from the left was denoted, by lowering the first finger the second was indicated. The leaders, when the opposite side was guessing, endeavored to confuse their opponents by deceptive motions. Every time a successful guess was made as to the whereabouts of a hidden object, that is, under which of the four moccasins it had been concealed by the party holding the guess, a stick was placed on a pile by the score-keeper totaling the number of successful guesses of his party. The number of counters required to win is not now remembered. Every time that one side guessed successfully the particular moccasin under which the object was concealed, the turn to hide it reverted to the opposite side. And, with each inning completed, the men of the winning side rose and danced around the room once or twice to the tune of a victory song to celebrate its achievement. We have to note, however, that after the moccasin game had ceased to be an independent form of winter and spring amusement and had become attached to funeral celebrations, the dancing, after each winning period, was discontinued out of respect for the deceased. In the arrangement of the parties forming the two opposite sides of the game, one group faced east, the other west. It seems as though the game were a symbol of contest between the two opposing quarters and
[763] that an element of divination belonged to it. We are told in this connection that if the east side defeated the west side in the evening's performance it was a sign of coming misfortune; that some one in the company would die within the year. Washington added that this portent associated with the game was one of the causes for its discontinuation about twenty years ago. Some other details of the moccasin game

among the Delawares are provided from his memory. They 524
may serve as a base of comparison with the type of per-
formance recorded among other tribes of the same cultural
group when time comes to consider the history of the game.
We learn, for instance, that the players started with four
moccasins on each side but that towards morning the women
took away one moccasin, leaving them three under which to
hide the cartridge or bullet. Later, in the early hours of the
morning another moccasin was taken away, later another
until only one remained on each side and the players were
unable to continue. One of the older women, Mrs. Minnie
Fouts, who had taken part in this rite, corroborated the
information of Joe Washington and added some of the details
put on record. As the moccasins were taken away one by
one during the course of the night, it was a signal for a change
in the repertoire of songs in the series. It was added in
explanation of taking away the moccasins that the men were
induced to cease the game by this gradual method, lest they
play too long. The element of wagering on the outcome of [525]
the moccasin game was stricken out when the game came to
be used in the funeral rite, though previously betting was
carried on by the Delawares when the game was an inde-
pendent celebration for amusement. The reason for intro- [764]
ducing the moccasin game into the funeral program was to
provide a means of keeping the party awake and in good
spirits while they were sitting up with the dead person during
the nights between the time of decease and burial. Levity
was customary during the playing of the game, yet this did [781]
not seem to interfere with the spirit of the funeral, it being
intended to lighten the grief of those who were paying their
last duties to the deceased.[1]

THE RING AND PIN GAME

Koko'lac (meaning not clear).—The following game, the name of which is not as descriptive as it might be although

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[1] In the account of the Moccasin Game given by R. C. Adams ("Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, 1905, p. 47), some of the songs accompanying the rite are transcribed. It is doubtful whether any more of these scores could be secured at the present time.

524 used to denote a game of extremely wide distribution throughout northern North America and retaining a uniform type wherever found, is common among the Delawares. At the present time it is played for amusement by persons of both sexes and all ages during the evenings in winter time. This, too, is regarded as a pastime for those who are born in winter, one that is thought to bring on cold stormy weather the ensuing day. Herein lies its ceremonial character.

To a sharpened stick or bone is fastened a leather string some twenty inches long at the other end of which is fixed the tail of a rabbit. On the string are threaded five hollow cones, the wider ends open toward the stick. For the want of sufficient native material the Delawares make these cones by hollowing out and tapering common spools. In former times they were the phalanges of the deer. In the specimens figured one is constructed with spools, the other with sections of some animals' leg bones. The object of the play is to swing the cones in the air, catching as many as possible on the end of the pointed stick. Each player repeats the attempt to impale these cones until he misses three times. For each cone caught on the stick he receives a count of one. The players keep count of their totals by memory. The winning total is decided upon at the beginning of the game, it may be
[525 15, 25, 50 or 100 points. Small wagers are laid upon the outcome, the player to reach the total first taking the stakes. To catch the rabbit's tail counts nothing.

[171] I hardly need comment upon the wide distribution of this game from the Pacific to the Atlantic and as far south as the Plains unbrokenly across North America, even in archaeological levels of considerable historical depth as Dr. Strong's findings indicate (Strong, op. cit., p. 192).

CEREMONIAL DOLLS

778 *Oxta's*, "Doll or Plaything."—The privilege of making dolls as toys out of cornhusks is denied children. The reason
[777 is that corn is too sacred to be trifled with. To violate this
753] would bring on bad luck in the form of sickness. Only those in whose family inheritance the obligation to make and to perform in ceremony with such creations are permitted to

construct likenesses of the human figure. This belief is illus- 778
trated in the rite of the Doll Dance. When figures of corn-
husk are to be made they should be made by a person born
in summer, the season of growing corn, such an individual
being known as *si·'kwan mi·'mqs*, "spring child." Persons, 778
however, who are born in winter may make toys in the image 821
of the emblem of their ceremonial group, though to do so is
apt to bring on cold weather. It is believed that such action
is apt to anger the spirit controlling the winter, namely,
Lowane'ke·s, "Winter Spirit." As an example of the opera-
tion of privilege and restriction in such matters we have the
case of a person of the Turkey group born in winter, who
could make the image of a turkey, chicken, duck or goose
out of cornstalks or cornhusks decorating it in correspondence
with its nature as a bird by attaching feathers to it. This
may be suspended in the dwelling by means of a string so
that the wind will blow the image about. Those who observe
it would remark, "Oh, you are trying to break the weather."
In short, those born in summer can only exert influence [844]
through the making of images upon the creatures of the
summer, for winter-born persons to make them is pernicious.

DICE AND BOWL GAME

Mama'n'di·n, "Gathering Dice Together." — Another 525
amusement which among the Delawares took on the significance of a minor ceremony, was the game in which a wooden bowl and seven dice cut out of bone, mussel shells or peach seeds to produce outlines of turtles, horses' heads, one side in natural color, the other stained black, and other forms not well remembered as to detail. For some reason the Delawares have abandoned this pastime, although it has continued strongly among tribes whose native culture has become more thoroughly disintegrated. Even the details of the counting have been forgotten. Men and women indulged in the Dice and Bowl game for the purpose of wagering, the stakes being placed at one side before the opening of the game. The players sat in a circle around the bowl which rested on a folded blanket, each taking his turn by lifting the bowl off the blanket and bringing it down violently to cause

525 the dice to fall at hazard. The counts depended upon the number of dice that fell with the same color up. We might imagine that the scoring color combination would be similar to those of related tribes who retain the game, yet lacking direct testimony on the point these particulars cannot be reconstructed. The number of counts gained by each player was recorded by his accumulating a pile of beans representing his total. Brinton records some particulars of the Canadian Delaware phase of the game.[1]

GAME OF JACK STRAWS

Sela'xti·'k·ana (*sela''ta'n*), "Scattering Straws."—The following game so closely resembles the European game of jackstraws that at first glance it might be summarily concluded to be of this derivation, nevertheless I would hesitate to speak too positively on this point in view of a number of distinct features connected with it which seem to belong in the realm of native thought. The furnishings of the game are fifty plain straws, smooth sections of bog grass about eight inches in length obtained by cutting the stems between the joints. To this number are fifteen additional straws marked by being burnt with a hot iron to produce dots, spirals and dashes. The count value of the marked straws begins at 5 and ends at 75. The devices which indicate their values seem to have formal character and I have indicated in the accompanying sketch the values assigned to them according to the advice of several informants in the Nation who still play the game, and with whom I engaged in it. The object of the game is to throw the straws upon a blanket folded to form a playing table in the middle of the habitation, and to remove the sticks one by one by means of a quill, the thick end of which has been bent into a hook. In removing the straws from the pile the player must avoid stirring the other straws in the slightest degree, to do so causes him to miss and the next player to the right takes his turn. All the straws obtained by each player are kept in a pile, the plain straws counting one point and the marked ones adding their combined values. The winning score is decided upon at the beginning of the game, 100 being the usual goal. The manner of holding the straws is interesting. The entire bundle in which the plain and marked straws are shuffled is held between the palms a little above the blanket then dropped. They fall in confusion and the picking out then begins by the one who cast them, each player casting his own straws. Wagering may be indulged in and men and women may take part.

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[1] D. G. Brinton, "Folk-Lore of the Modern Lenape," Essays of an Americanist, Philadelphia, 1890, p. 186.

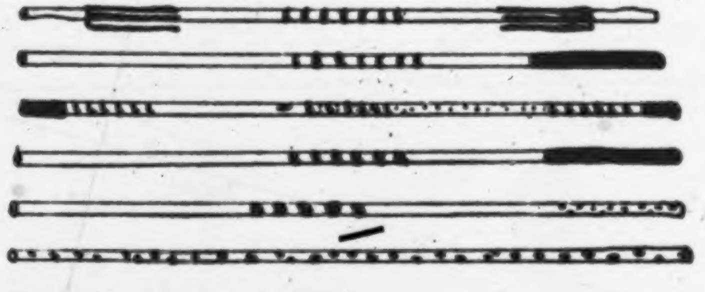

Fig. 4. Marked Straws Used in Delaware Game of Jackstraws. From bottom up plain straw counts one, marked straws from five to seventy-five, by quinary and quindecimal symbols.

The person securing the lowest score forfeits a blanket or

525 money, or as a minor stake the penalty is to cut wood for the owner of the house where it is played or for the winner, or to go on an errand, or to butcher a hog for him the next day, as the case may be.

[844 This game has its limitations of performance inasmuch as
[777 it is proper only for those born in winter to engage in it and
821] it is only played in the winter time, with the result that it brings on storms of sleet and blizzards. For these preferences to be violated would bring on bad luck.

The markings on the straws valued from 5 to 75, are indicated in the accompanying sketch.

MISCELLANEOUS RITES

THE SCRATCHING RITE FOR WARRIORS

783 In the nature of an ordeal by which the man of strength showed his courage when preparing to go to war or to enter one of the physical contests, we learn that he scratched himself on the body. In the same operation he purified himself. Tradition is vague on the details, but in this rite we meet with one that is of apparently southern origin in view of its almost universal observance among the Indians of the southeastern or Gulf area. Our information does not permit of much discussion of the spiritual or physical qualities of this heroic practice, therefore it will have to stand simply as an occurrence to be noted in the study of distribution of the scratching rite as one of therapeusis and purification. It is called *le'həli·k'ci·'k·an*, "scratching."

[484 757] The rite is mentioned by Lindeström as practiced medicinally by the Delawares in the middle of the seventeenth century for the purpose of relieving pain and fatigue after a strenuous journey, and also as a means of preventing them before one.[1] A piece of flint was the scarifying agent. *Wi·tapano'xwe* had heard that a fish bone had also been used, but there were no particulars given as to how the instrument was constructed.[2]

861 In 1756 John McCullough was held captive by the Delawares and adopted by them. During his captivity he observed many customs of importance. Among them he writes of being subjected to a punishment intended for mischievous boys in which the miscreant was scratched on the thighs and legs with the bill of a gar-fish wrapped in a thin rag so that the teeth projected through. Sometimes, he added, if punishment were merited a second or third time, the corrector would score the boys from the top of the shoulder down to the wrists and again from each shoulder to the hip, forming a

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[1] Lindeström, *op. cit.*, 244. (Ed. A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1925.)

[2] Bone scarifiers are known to the Cherokee and Catawba of the Carolinas.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

861 cross on the back. We can see in this rite a parallel to the information we already have concerning the practice of scratching the body with the teeth of some kind of fish.[3]

THE SCRATCHING CEREMONY

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539

yu'kwe	nda'yaxkənu't·əmən	e·'hele·k	lɔ'mwe			
Now	I am relating	how those performances	long ago			
ə'nda	e·lowę'si·kʻ	doᵘ'p·ali·n	ni·kani·'xiŋgi·kʻ	i·la·'ɔkʻ		
when	it was called	scouting.	The leading	warriors		
maeŋge·'yɔkʻ	aʻkənu't·as·u	e·'loweŋg	pənahɔ'k·i·en			
called together a council,	they talked about	what is called	exploring			
ci·'takɔ	doᵘ'p·ali·n	ɔk	aʻkəni·ma'n	ski·no'wɑkʻ		
or	scouting	and	they talked to	young men		
ką'ci·ləs·i·'tci·k	ke'kȯ	e·hel·a'ci·mwi·''ti·tʻ				
those who "great men" are	in something	who had had visions in dreams				
wuskaʻti·la'ɔk	hi·ta'n·dəl·a·n	ɔk	wu'ndji·	ki·ki·'namən		
the young warriors	are trained	and	so	are acquainted with		
we·'mi·	yu'ta	li·ʻ	te·'kəne.	wa'ni·	ni·kani·'xiŋ	ɔk
all	this		the wilderness.	The	leader	and
məte·'inowɑk	kələ'n·əmukʻ	i·laopaʻs·i·'kɑn	ne·'sko			
the medicine men "doctors"	carry with them	warrior's medicine	before			
a'ləmʻskaʻti·tʻ	i·la'oʻkeyɔk	haŋg	tȧmseha'ŋg.	wu'skaʻ-		
they go off	They have a war dance	said	sometimes.	The young		
ti·la'ɔkʻ	wəli·'hil·i·kʻcə'mən	awe·'n	hɔ'k·ae	wu'ndji		
warriors	scratch themselves	a person's	body	that is why		
we·'i·tci·lae'ŋge·n	təli·'	te'pi·lə's·i·n	a'hi·	xahe'len·a'uʻki·		
to convince	that	they are able	very	many are		
ha't·e·	ehela'ehɔs·i·'t·upʻ	wa'ni·	lən·a'p·e.	ə'n·da		
they had	the performances	the	Delawares.	When		
we'ndjaʻki·tʻ	təli·'	doᵘ'pali·n	ci·'takɔ	i·la'oʻk·an		
they are prepared	to	scout	or	have war dance		
ɔk	cəmu'tcʻ	lɔ'mwe	ə'n·da	paʻsa''hɔmaŋg		
and	also	long time ago	when	they played Indian football		
a'hi·	təmi·'ki·	awe·'n	wəli·'hil·i·kʻcan	hɔ'k·ayə		
very	ofttimes	anyone	scratch himself [until bleeds]	on body		

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[3] Archibald Loudon,." A Collection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of the Outrages Committed by Indians in the Wars with the White People." 2 vols., Carlisle, 1808, reprinted 1888, containing Narrative of the Captivity of John McCullough, written by himself, 1776, pp. 209–70. See also for Shawnee

ta′mechaŋg	awe·′n	ɔ′nda	we·′i·tci·na′k′ʷsi·t′	tali·′	726
sometimes	a person	when	he looked the part	that	539
kąci·lɔ′s·i·n	ɔk	ni·hi·l·a′t·aŋge	elki·′kwi·		
he was powerful	and	could win [the game]	how in any way		
si·′hiwe·t′	lowe·′nhaŋg	api·′laxte·.			
as he wished	is called, said	used supernatural power.			

Free Translation.

Now, I am relating what was done long ago when scouting, as it was called. The leading warriors called a council. They talked about what is called exploring, or scouting. And the great men talked to the young men about the thing they possessed in their dream vision. The young warriors are trained and hence are acquainted with all this for the wilderness. The leader and the conjurors carry with them warrior's medicine. Before they start off they have a war dance, according to custom. Sometimes the young warriors scratch themselves,[4] each one on his body, in order to convince them that they have ability. Very many were the different rites the Delawares had, when they prepared for scouting or in the war dance, and also long ago when they played football. Very frequently a person would scratch himself to bleed his body. Sometimes when a person showed proof that he was powerful and could win out in any way he wished, it was said he used spiritual power.[5]

CEREMONIAL TRAINING AND PERSONAL CONDUCT

In a category somewhat by itself may be placed some rites 302
which seem to bear upon the ceremonial appearance of the 788
individual as he presents himself for a day's program in life. It was customary for the Delawares to apply fresh red paint to the face each day, coloring the cheeks and forehead. A line of red paint was also marked in the part of the hair from the forehead up. The coloring matter was ordinarily

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analogy, T. W. Alford, "Civilization," University of Oklahoma Press, 1936, pp. 21–2.

[4] This weakened rite seems to be the only manifestation in Delaware ethnology of the ceremonial scarification that assumed such intensive force to the southward.

[5] The young men were advised by their elders not to use supernatural power unless there were serious need for it. This seems to be a common Algonkian opinion.

302 mixed with tallow. The reason given for this action was to
783 impress the Great Spirit with the fact that his people were up and about and observant of cleanliness and good appearance as they went about their tasks,—in short, that they were consciously alive and mindful of their obligations toward the rules of life taught by him.

783 Children were awakened about sunrise and instructed to
869 wash their faces at once so that the Great Spirit would see that they were not lazy but ready and prepared for the day's duties. Young people were, moreover, advised to lift their feet nicely when they walked, and to find constantly something to do to engage their time in occupations that would be helpful to their parents and others. These monitions were also backed by the instructions that the Great Spirit would find them meritorious in conduct and reward them with a long and happy life. The present members of the nation who were brought up in such practices lament deeply the indifference of members of the present generation in such matters, attributing the decline of their people to failure in observing the teachings which made their ancestors powerful and respected.

783 A rite recorded of the Delawares of former times was the
515 washing of youths each morning in clear running water, preferably that of streams, both in winter and summer, suggestive of a "river-cult." We hear of this habit frequently in the narratives of Delaware history when the tribe resided in the East. It seems to have been insisted upon generally for youths,[6] even enforced upon white boys who had been taken captive and adopted in the Nation, as we see in the following narrative.

727 To have spoken of personal purification by immersion in
783 the water of streams leads to a more formal method of washing away defilement by the same means. Referring to John McCullough, who in 1776 wrote of his experiences while living as a captive with the then hostile Delawares, we are told of his enforced "conversion" to paganism at the hands

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[6] An interesting resume of Delaware practices in the training of youths and warriors is given in the account of a Delaware author who describes the daily plunge into the river by boys undergoing the course of training in pairs. Cf. R. C. Adams, "Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, D. C., 1905, p. 26.

of his masters. Two young men take him into a canoe, 727
seizing him by the wrists, plunging him over head and ears 783
under the water and holding him down until he was almost smothered before letting him get breath. After repeating this treatment several times they took him out, dressed him in a ruffed shirt, shaved his head, provided him with a "roach," painted him, and told him he was then an Indian. Later his Indian "uncle" would waken him at daylight and make him sit down in the creek up to his chin. This was to make him hardy. He was, moreover, not allowed to go near the fire until he became dry.[7]

They followed the habit of securing a prosperous future 884
for the young hunter by placing his umbilicus in the tracks 789
of a deer, a magical observance based on a widespread native concept of spiritual sympathy. Again, the umbilicus would be placed in the water to cause the growing youth to acquire power as a swimmer.

THE CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

The Delawares, like other eastern peoples,[8] consider them- 619
selves to stand in certain genealogical relationships with 648
neighboring tribes, as though they all constituted a great family,—some members older, some younger, lineal and collateral, and some in between as respects age and maturity. These relationships function in ceremonial gatherings wherein other tribes are concerned, and they are accepted without dispute among themselves. In the older accounts much stress was laid upon this feature of native life, and it seemed to form an important consideration in treaty negotiations that took place among the eastern and central tribes, giving precedence in authority to certain ones over others. From various sources we learn that the Delawares held a position of seniority among them. This fact may develop into one of some value in coördinating the position of the different groups and perhaps in throwing light on the historical sequence

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[7] Loudon, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261.

[8] The Wabanaki peoples, for instance, entertain a similar concept of tribal consanguinity, in which system they consider the Ottawa to be their grandfathers and among themselves the Micmac as their younger brothers (F. G. Speck, The Eastern Algonkian Confederacy, American Anthropologist, vol. 17, no. 3, 1915, pp. 499, 505).

619 in tribal migrations which led to the settlement of the tribes
648 in their proper locations. For, as we glance eastward from the Delawares and southward, likewise we discover the tribes to rate as nephews and grandsons of the patriarchal stem. I should not like, however, to stress the force of the traditional assumption of paternity that the Delawares lay claim to as being proof in any sense of the tribe being sire to those it regards as lineal or collateral descendants. The belief nevertheless has much ethnological value and has been disregarded by ethnologists without good reason. And since other tribes seem not to have retained extensive knowledge of these matters it has seemed important to record the text presenting the Delaware opinion of the matter. I have made some comment on tribal beliefs of consanguinity in the study of the Big House Ceremony and now the occasion seems ripe for the recording of the informant's own version of the situation with a comparison of the facts as written down a century ago by Zeisberger.[9]

In the following narration the information's tradition of the Delaware's imaginary relationship to other groups is placed on record. In the footnotes are included quotations from older authorities on the subject and comments by other living Delaware informants. The testimony before us brings out discrepancies, as might be expected when amassing data on a situation so involved with a tribal ego and the perpetuation of which is so dependent upon negotiations between the groups, associations which have long ceased to function.[10]

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[9] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 109. See also Consanguinity of Tribes, in the "Big House Ceremony," p. 33. In the latter passage cited, an error evidently crept in, as the informant notes the Iroquois considered as "brothers" and the Seneca "nephews," while I find the Delaware chiefs designate the Seneca, at least, as "uncles."

[10] That these discrepancies have prevailed for a long time is shown by the observations of McKenney almost a century ago that the Wyandot claimed to be uncles of all other tribes, and the Delawares their grandfathers. But, he adds, the Delawares acknowledge themselves nephews of the Wyandots. J. L. McKenney and J. Hall, "History of the Indian Tribes of North America," Philadelphia, 1844, III, p. 7. After comparing Wi·tapano'xwe's authority ("Big House Ceremony," p. 33) that the Wyandots are "nephews" of the Delawares it may be gathered that the Indians themselves have now, as well as in the past, been responsible for the existing confusion. Their inaccuracy is either a trait in itself or an aberration of one.

For it to be more consistently expressed would imply possession of an historical sense which we know is lacking in the native rôle of life. So before a meaning to this trait of eastern culture can be approached we shall have to record corresponding lists from other tribes checking them up with tradition and actual history. 619 648

The Delaware versions of tribal synonymy throw some interesting side-lights on early names and associations in the East which I shall not attempt to discuss in this paper.

CONSANGUINITY OF TRIBES

619

wa′ni·	lən·a′p·e	li·pəna·′ən	weᵒ′mi·		enxake·′i·t·	648
The	Delaware	are looked upon	all		different tribes	539
wa′ni	meᵒ′xkeɔ′xkus·i·t	tə′l·i·	ne′ka	ki·′k‘hai·′n.	ahi·-	
the	red men	that	he	is oldest.	Great	
kaheᵒ′li·	xt‘oxwi·′s·u.	wəla′haxa′ne	a′lənde		aweᵒ′nhak·e	
many	his grandchildren.	Although besides	some		wild Indians	
ha′t·e	eᵉlaŋgoᵘ′mənd	pəna′‘	wa′ni·		Caᵒ′wəno‘[11]	
special	relationship	such as	the		Shawnee	
na′lən·a	neᵉtami′xiŋg	noxwi·′s·əna.	nawu′ndji		ekalaᵒ′mi·	
that is	first	grandchild.	From that		on down	
wa′ni	Pote′ɔt·ɑm,[12]	Saᵒ′ki·a,[13]	Aya′howe,[14]		Ta′ŋgowe,[15]	
the	Pottawatomi,	Sauk and Fox,	Ioway,		Tonkawa,	
Ca′hax,[16]	Pi·′kaxca‘,[17]	ɔk	Ki·′kapu,[18]		Maya′hame′,[19]	
Sioux,	Ottawa,	and	Kickapoo,		Miami,	

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[11] Literally "southerner," a name of general distribution among the eastern tribes. (For discussion of term see Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology, 2, p. 530.)

[12] Literally "half-witted, or not having good sense." (Potatawataminк or Potawagaminк, "People of place of fire." *Ibid.*, p. 289.)

[13] The informant offered no analysis for this title. (Osā′kiwŭg, "people of the outlet." *Ibid.*, p. 471.)

[14] The informant associated the name with the Delaware term a′howe, "thicket." ("Sleepy ones." *Ibid.*, 1, p. 612.)

[15] Associated with the Delaware stem tagg—"little." (Tonkawe′ya, "they all stay together." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 778.)

[16] Literally, "shy, afraid, retreating in manner." (Chippewa term, Nadowe-is-iw, meaning, snake, adder. *Ibid.*, p. 577.)

[17] Literally, "smart, intelligent but having a shabby appearance." It also denotes, "wearing a tooth or claw necklace." It is more probable that the term denotes the Piankasha of Illinois and Indiana with whom the Delawares were associated before their removal across the Mississippi. (Ă dā we, "to trade, to buy and sell." *Ibid.*, p. 167.)

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

619	Pe·yɔ'le,[20]	ɔk	ən·ahəl·i·'	Tci·'pəwe,[21]	Mənaᵃ'məni·,[22]
648	Peoria,	and	besides	Chippewa,	Menomini,

539	Çi·li·ti·'xka,[23]	Caᵃcpu'ci·,[24]	Patu'xka,[25]	Win·i·peᵉ'ga,[26]
	Comanche,	Nez Percé,	Apache,	Winnebago,

Wəcaᵃ'ce,[27]	Kąsi·a,[28]	Paŋka,[29]	Oka'xpa.[30]	Weᵉ'mi
Osage,	Kaw, or Kansa	Ponca,	Quapaw.	All

yu'kwe	yu'ki·k	ənxi·'	wi·xk'wus·i·'xti·t.	yu'kwe	yu'tali
these	here	each different	named.	Now	here

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[18] "Travelling or visiting people." (Kiwigapawᵉ, "he stands about," or "he moves about, standing now here, now there." *Ibid.*, 1, p. 684.)

[19] Literally, "people living affiliated in settlements." (Chippewa term, omaumeg, "people who live on the peninsula." *Ibid.*, p. 852.) A more appropriate name for the Miami, given by Chief Fall Leaf in Oklahoma is *Tuwe'tuwe.* The closest analysis he could give for the term was "salamander larva" (*tuwe'kɔk,* "salamander"). The name takes us to the synonym Twightwee as denoting the Miami in Indiana and Illinois. How such an epithet came to be applied to them was beyond the tradition of the informants, their only suggestion being that at some early time upon first seeing members of the group, their appearance, perhaps painting, suggested to the Delawares the animal named. This was said to have been a basis for first names of groups and individuals.

[20] No explanation offered by informant but by Chief Fall Leaf analyzed to "people who have spiritual helpers." Tradition among the Delaware he asserted says that one of the first of natives met with had so much spiritual power that they gave them this name. (Piwareᵃ, "he comes carrying a pack on his back." *Ibid.* 1, p. 228.)

[21] The term is suggestive of, "whistling people." (From ojib, "to pucker up," and ub-way, "to roast." *Ibid.*, p. 277.) The Missisauga (Ojibwa) of Ontario, while not known to the Delawares of Oklahoma, are ranked as "grandchildren" by the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations Reserve.

[22] A proper name for which the informant gave no specific meaning. (Menominiwok ininiwok, "they are men." *Ibid.*, p. 842.)

[23] No explanation offered, but said to sound like "fast runner." (Padouca, Siouan name for Comanche. *Ibid.*, p. 327.)

[24] Evidently a derivation of Nez Perce' as it sounded to Delaware ears.

[25] Literally, "someone coming and someone going, not permanently located." Evidently confused in identity in the mind of informants. Paducah might be a survival of the Illinois designation. (A'pachu, "enemy." *Ibid.*, p. 163.)

[26] No explanation offered. (Chippewa term, winipig, "filthy water," and Sauk and Fox, 'winipyägohagⁱ, "people of the filthy water." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 958.)

[27] Delaware pronunciation of the tribal eponym.

[28] Literally, "coward." The Delaware feel that this is the proper meaning.

[29] No explanation given.

[30] No explanation offered by informant. (U'gakpa, "downstream people." *Ibid.*, p. 333.)

tələwi·'hi·laᵃwa'o	yuli·'l	ləna'p·eyo	Waᵃ'panaxki [31]	ək	619
they call	the	Delawares	Wabanaki	also	648

muxomsə'n·a.	ka't·tci	weᵉ'mi	ni·'maxtəna	dəl·ə-	539
"our grandfather."	But	all	our brothers	they	

wi·'lpoᵘna	ləna'·pe. [32]
call us	Lenape.

Yu'kwe	nəwe'i·taxkənu'təmən	wani·'	lənaᵉ'pe
Now	I shall talk about, explain	the	Delaware

wei·maxtə's·i·t'	aweᵉ'ni·	akoᵘ'ta	nanheᵉ'li·	ge'ski·a'
their brothers	whom	not	much I say	as many

wi'hil·ɑk'	wani·'	Wəne''təko' [33]	ək	Mahi·'kan·i· [34]	ək
can name	the	Nanticoke	and	Mahican	and

Mu'nsi [35]	ək	keᵉxaᵃ'kei·	Ɔ'pan·u' [36]	ceᵉla'han·e	de'nxi·
Munsee	and	several nations	Iroquois	and those	as many

məcaᵉ'laᵉn	ni·'maxtəs·ənaᵉ'nuk.	cuk'	ke'nowi·	a'p'tci·
I think of	our brothers.	But	nevertheless	always

wa'ni·	lən·a'p·e	tə'n·da	ki'k'hayi'n.	nawu'ndji·
the	Delawares	the very	oldest.	And thence

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[31] A general appelation for the Delawares of long standing, meaning "easterners." The antiquity of this term points, with evidence not to be ignored, to the early affinity of the Delawares with the peoples of New England in general who were and are known by dialectic forms of the same classifying term.

[32] Literally, "common people." (See 2, p. 14, of this series, also Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 114; Brinton and Anthony, "A Lenape-English Dictionary," The Pennsylvania Students Series. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1889, 1, p. 63; Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology, 1, p. 385.)

[33] Despite serious attempts to seek explanation of this term for Nanticoke as well as in cognate sources it remains incapable of precise analysis. The Canadian Delaware-Munsee informant (Nick Peters) thinks it alludes to great waves. ("Tidewater people." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 25.)

[34] No specific analysis offered. ("Wolf." *Ibid.*, 2, p. 786.)

[35] No analysis offered. (Min-asin-ink, "at the place where stones are gathered together." *Ibid.*, p. 957.)

[36] Literally, "eastern sunrise people." This term strangely includes both the Iroquois and the Brothertown Indians (Algonkian) which the Delawares fail to distinguish. Another term posk'ocaᵉ's·i·t', "wearing a natural crest or roach on the head," was thought to be recalled by the informant as a synonym for the Mohawk. He thought the Iroquois originated the "roach" head-dress, which agrees with tradition among the Penobscot, who describe a term me'gwaimo'suma'si·t, "Mohawk hair-cut," as denoting the hair shaved from the head leaving only a dorsal crest on the crown from front to rear. (For a short discussion of the distribution of the roach headdress see "The Big House Ceremony," p. 97.)

619 ha̧'t·e pi·'li· laŋgundowa'k·an. axpo'wαk e̜t' ik·ali'tci·
648 also existing other relationships. There must be older persons
539 eɫki·k'ʷai·'tci·k' weɔtu'xti·t' weᵉ'mi· e'nxenaxga't·uk
living longer than I who know all different degrees

laŋgǫᵘsowa'k·an. yukwe'' tci·tc kexa'p'tun wa'ni·
relationship. Now then few words, the

Teᵉlma't·ən·u [37] luŋgɔxs·ə's·əna nahəli·' wa'ni·
Wyandot our nephews (brothers' or sisters' sons) and also the

Katu''hɔ.[38] ka't·tci wa'ni Me'ŋgwe,[39] spa'nayu' [40]
Cherokee. But the Seneca Mexicans

noᵉci·si·'nen kat·tci· wa'ni· weɔ'p'si·t' [41]
our uncles, "mother's brother" but the white person

ni·maxtə's·ən·a ɔk wa' səka'xkwu'leᵉs a'lənde aweᵉ'n
our brothers and the black color person some people

lo'weᵉ aneᵉskə's·i·t nəxą̈ᵉ'səna ɔk naləna·a'n tə'n·da
say "he has a high color" our older brother, and he is the very

tci·tanə's·i·n weᵉ'mi· enxake·'i·t' aweᵉ'n.
stoutest of all different nations persons.

Free Translation.

The Delawares are looked upon by all the different tribes of Indians as being the oldest. A great many of them are their "grandchildren." And besides some of the "wild" Indians had special relationships, such as the Shawnee which are the first grandchildren. Thence on down in the following order (the grandchildren) are, the Potowatomi, Sauk and 619 648 Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, and Kickapoo, Miami, 539 Peoria, and besides these the Chippewa, Menomini, Comanche, Nes Percé, Apache, Winnebago, Osage, Kaw, Ponca, Quapaw. All these here are differently named. Now here all these call the Delawares Wapanachki, or "Our Grandfather." But all our "brothers" call us by the name Lenape.

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[37] Literally, "along a mountain range."

[38] Meaning, "chilly, shivering with cold," suggested for this term in Delaware, disregarding its correct Cherokee source of origin. (For summary see Cherokee, *ibid.*, 1, p. 246.) The application of this term is definitely to the Seneca by the Delawares of Oklahoma and those in Canada. The latter call the Seneca "uncles," and the Seneca reciprocate by calling them "nephews."

[39] A term for various Iroquoian peoples reported in the earliest documents on Delaware history, given in the forms Mengwe, Minqua and their variants. The word is evidently too archaic for etymological explanation. It is current in recognisable form among all Wabanaki peoples south of the St. Lawrence. The informant also applied the term *mes'xkəti·'no* "red person or man," to the Seneca, but he did not give an historic reason for the name.

[40] Literally "Spaniard."

[41] A less respectful term used by the tribe to denote Europeans is *ɔ'piŋg* "opossum," the likeness arising through the pale face and slobbering laugh characteristic of both in Delaware opinion. (See 2, of this series, p. 101.)

Now, I shall explain about the brothers of the Delawares, about whom I can not say much, but as many as I can name are the Nanticoke and Mahi·kan, and Munsee and several nations of the Iroquois are as many as I can think of as being our brothers. But nevertheless the Delawares are always considered the oldest. There must be older persons than I am who know all the different degrees of tribal relationship. Now then, a few more words, the Wyandot are our nephews, and also the Seneca and Cherokee. But the Mexicans are our uncles and the whites in general our brothers, and black people, some say "He who has a high color," our elder brothers, and it is he who is the strongest of all the different nations of people.

To the above list of tribal names several more may be 619 added; mα'ckos, the Muskogi or Creek, a derivation of the 648 term for swamp, and Taǫ'gale'wi·, the Yuchi, meaning a people inferentially lost or wandering. The latter revives an old designation, Tahogale, Hogloge and variants (see discussion in J. R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians, Bulletin 73, Bureau American Ethnology, 1922, pp. 286–312) for this mysterious and important people with whom the Delawares appear to have had contact.

MORTUARY CEREMONIES AND PROCEDURES

The customs concerned with death and interment of the 764 Delawares are traced to a fusion of the rites of the tribe proper 174 with those of the Munsee. We even have evidence that for a portion of the Delaware group certain mortuary rites of the Nanticoke[42] were assimilated during one period of time, as Harrington's account reveals.[43] Without attempting to un-

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[42] Harrington, *op. cit.*, 183–4.

[43] An account of the Nanticoke independent burial customs, which were maintained by members of this tribe living among the Delawares as late as 1870, will be given shortly (p. 142).

764 tangle some slightly confused details which are encountered
174 in the various descriptions given by early as well as late authors on Delaware ethnology, the citations from some of them will be presented and those of the informant separately. It is manifest that mortuary rites of the tribe have changed from time to time while the Delawares have been passing through the vicissitudes of their protracted migration from the Atlantic to the Plains.

764 In the text dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe we learn sufficient detail to make a complete summary of burial customs unnecessary as a separate paragraph. Nevertheless several excerpts from explanatory notes made by him to clear up his narration may be introduced. They discuss the treatment of the body of the deceased, duties of the relatives, the arrangements for interment, the sitting-up with the corpse and the playing of the ceremonial moccasin gambling game, the feast at the gathering for interment and its repetition at the end of the first year period after death.

764 With the interest in ceremonial matters that is natural
775 to his mental make-up Wi·tapano'xwe gives us his version of the doctrines and rites appropriate to the ushering of the soul of the defunct Delaware to the "Land of Spirits Above," *manito''kamik hukwe'yuŋ*, from the "Land of Spirits on Earth," *manito''kamik*. His particulars are in accordance with the theory of the journey of the soul explained and illustrated by a sketch of the path of the soul in its progress to the abode of *ke·tan'to'wi·t*, "Great Spirit," as given in the study of the Big House Ceremony. (Op. cit. Fig. 26.)

764 His major contribution to our knowledge of current funereal customs lies in the outline of the sermon and procedure of the Feast for the Dead. The proper name for the feast on the eleventh day after death is *da'kwi·p'hɔ'l·i·n* "together eating." The feast that is celebrated one year after the death of the individual, at which only a few of the relatives are present, is called *wi·ho*ʷ*'mwi·n*, "feast of offering to someone." It has already been noted that the latter feast has entered the Delaware system of rites by assimilation from the institutions of the Munsee according to the opinion of our sources.

The recurrence of this feast is determined by spiritual influences. We are told, for instance, that if it is overlooked and the spirit of the deceased becomes offended, a disturbing dream visitation or an omen of mysterious significance would provide a warning against further neglect. This would cause the family to resort to the feast again.

The narrator assumes the rôle of the aged speaker who is invited by the family of the deceased to preside over the obsequies. He expounds the doctrine of immortality so vital and comforting to the bereaved Indians. He betrays the conservative attitude of the tribe which proved such a barrier to the theological arguments of the early Moravian missionaries when they first tried to combat the spiritual convictions of the natives. The ensuing lecture by the speaker should be read with the explanatory text of the Big House Ceremony on the table beside it. Without further comment on this important feast I would call attention only to the instance before us as being an American case of the psychological attitude of the natives toward the event of death, in which emotions that seem conflicting and not harmonized to the European mind are illustrated in the wailing and grief mingled with feasting and gaming during the rites of obsequy. The topic has been discussed continuously by religious theoreticians since the time of Tylor.

We may now take up the preliminary details of information on burial procedures from early as well as present sources.

The first is the account of Wi·tapano'xwe.

Delaware Burial Ceremony

"To begin with, in case of one dying, four persons, two men and two women must be selected, usually of one of the two opposite ceremonial groups, to act as pall-bearers. A hog must be procured to provide sufficient meat, and also vegetables and fruit to feed every one who comes to the burial. The three principal food divisions are represented, meat, vegetables and fruits.

"When a man dies his body is dressed by the two men appointed, if a woman, the two women dress the body. A little red paint is used, because they believe this is formal preparation for the body of an 'Indian.'

"An elderly man is selected to talk and conduct the burial, and he must be governed by the wishes of the family, or according to the wishes

764 of the person departed, if he or she made any statement as to what way
he wanted the burial conducted.

[525] "All who wish to may come and sit up with the corpse. The men
pall-bearers sit up and others who wish to play a hand game,[64] using
usually a coffee bean or buckeye bean or a bullet for ball hiding—first under
764 a glove or moccasin—and the other persons guess which moccasin he hides
the bean or bullet under. This is kept up until daybreak. At night be-
775 fore the "wake" the men pall-bearers discharge three (another says two)
musket shots toward the sunset, then everyone must rise and give
attention. The shots symbolise the departure of the soul of the deceased.
Everyone must be awakened, especially the children, so that they may
not become frightened. The widowed person or the bereaved parents
stay awake all night. And just before sunrise another volley of two or
three shots is fired which symbolises lifting the soul upward. The
relatives of the deceased stand in front of the shooters. With the echo
of the discharge the soul departs.

764 "Now an elderly person, who has been chosen to officiate at the
ceremony, must offer thanks to the Great Spirit at breakfast time and
[761] perform the ceremony before the body leaves the house. During the
funeral procession no one must look back,—if they do it indicates another
of the immediate members of the family will follow soon. The speaker
must be given one 'Indian yard of wampum beads' for his services,
which do not end until after the feast on the eleventh day noon hour.

"One of the pall-bearers must go to the grave each day and build a little fire at the head of the grave for four consecutive evenings and the people must leave the house in charge of someone, for it must not be left alone for twelve days, and a light must be kept burning at the main entrance of the house for four nights after the death of a person.

768 "And note, the widowed person must also be painted when the face
764 of the 'departed' body has been painted. Four days after, 'divorcement'
proceeding takes place in the form of a ceremony. That is, they must
burn cedar in the house to 'fumigate' and the cedar water is used to wash
the widow's or widower's head. If a woman, she is told that she is now
no longer obligated to her deceased husband's family. She is furnished
with new clothes throughout. With this ceremony she is 'divorced,' but
the relationship terminology remains the same to the family she formerly
was married into.

775 "Now the burial hole is prepared on the day following the sitting up
826 with the body at night—it is not considered a grave until the body is in
772 it,—and even now, in the modern times, we do not believe in taking the
body to be embalmed, as we believe the life blood is the spirit that
remains on earth until the deceased is admitted to the abode of the
Great Spirit, which is the twelfth level of the Heaven.

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[64] This is the common moccasin game of North America. For description see S. Culin, "Games of the North American Indians," 24th Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology 1906, and page 99 of this study.

"A small wooden post is used in case of a man's grave and placed at 764 the head of the grave on the east end. (The head must always be directed toward the sunrise, feet to the west.) A woman's grave is indicated by placing a cross. (See Fig. 5.) A few logs are placed over the grave to keep out 'varmints.'

"Now at the conclusion of the burial, or just before, a little hole must be left in the casket and one cut in the end opposite the head of the wood box also,[44] and the post placed after covering same, then paint the usual designs on posts. The victuals are separated for the pall-bearers and all the relatives. The latter eat apart from the people in general. Just before the feast at the cemetery the speaker calls all the people to the grave and talks—takes up the life of the person and relates the character of the dead person, and if he lived a nice quiet life and tells his chance or her chance to be born into the spiritual world. The life blood remains, but the body goes back to the mother earth, of which we are a part. The belongings of the dead are divided among those who waited on the body, and the food is divided among the four pall-bearers also.

"Now at the announcement the speaker tells them to remember well 764 the eleventh day at the noon hour, all must be ready to offer thanks for the 184 great opportunity to give victuals to their dead kinfolks, as well as giving the hog and other rations which will be offered to the one who departed. That is, he or she eats the last time with his or her living relatives or tribesmen.

"The latter feature belongs to the Munsee division of the Delawares, but a Delaware proper does not have the eleventh day feast. One of the Munsee division may say, in passing threatening jokes, for instance, 'I am going to kill you.' The Munsee will say, 'Well it will cost you two hogs!' That is, it means one hog at the time of burial and the other at the eleventh day feast."

The grave posts referred to are described as being about 764 two feet in height above the ground, which at the head of a 775 man's grave is a single one painted with crosses, at a woman's grave one with a horizontal cross-bar (Fig. 5, *a* and *b*). The crosses it should be added do not stand for the Christian emblem but represent the "Cross-roads" on the path of the spirit to the abode of souls (see pp. 174–7, "Big House Ceremony").

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[44] It is important to note that the Delawares are strongly averse to the use of [184] European materials in mortuary constructions. They will not use iron in nailing, nor will they compromise with the past by adopting metal coffins, out of fear that the spirit would be sealed up and unable to reach the "habitation of spirits above." As noted before, when a wooden casket is bought by the progressive Delawares a square hole is cut in it for the exit of the soul-spirit after the event of the feast.

769 The Delawares have assimilated the Munsee custom of the family giving a feast one year from the date of death of its members. One or more deceased members of the same family may be remembered at this time, each one being represented by an invited person selected from another group (Wolf, Turtle or Turkey) or someone who is not related to the deceased by blood. Those representing the deceased need not necessarily be of corresponding sex. The person who is giving the feast, which is usually held at night, announces that he has invited the guests present to eat in memory of the departed member or members of his family. On such occasions the invited guests are served first. The food, which may be of various sorts, is equally divided and what is left the guests may take home in the vessels which it is customary to bring to such feasts for that purpose. A certain amount of food is set aside for the members of the family who eat after the guests have been served. Sometimes the person who sponsors the ceremony will give one of the guests a pint of liquor (or "sacred wine" as the informant called it) as a sacramental token. This he may dispose of as he chooses.[16]

[764]

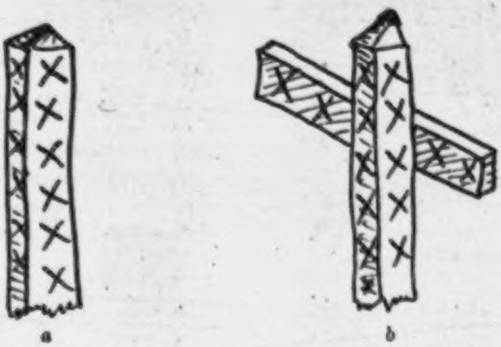

FIG. 5. GRAVE POSTS AT HEAD OF MAN'S GRAVE (a) AND WOMAN'S (b), about two feet high.

764 A most complete description of a Delaware funeral is given by the missionary John Heckewelder, eye-witness to the burial of a woman of high rank in 1762, the wife of a war-chief, Shingask. The essential features of the event

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[16] G. Tantaquidgeon, "Delaware Notes," 1930.

described correspond to those of our sources.[47] Heckewelder's account, though somewhat too lengthy to quote here, is indispensable to the student of the history of Delaware institutions, since it gives extended details of burial practices, and in particular the garb and ornamentation of people of high rank during the period of residence in Ohio.

For a still earlier period, before the tribe had left the Atlantic coast, De Vries has a generalized account of burial:

> "They make a large grave, and line it with boughs of trees, in which they lay the corpse, so that no earth can touch it. They then cover this with clay, and form the grave, seven or eight feet, in the shape of a sugar loaf, and place palisades around it. . . . They keep a portion of the dead in the house. . . . They then bury the bones in the grave, with a parcel of zeewan, and with arrows, kettles, knives, paper, and other knick-knacks which are held in great esteem by them, and cover them with earth, and place palisades around them. . . . Such is the custom on the coast in regard to the dead."[48]

For a later period we have the outline of burial customs by Zeisberger (1779–1780). The particulars that he gives follow in general those already noted, except that the funeral sermon is not emphasized, and like the modern rites show a change from the custom of burying property with the body to that of giving it away by selected distribution to those present at the ceremonies. Another discrepancy is found in Zeisberger's mention that the corpse is laid with head to west instead of to the east. His account is as follows:

> "Formerly the people lined the graves with the bark of trees but now they have learned how to make coffins of boards. After the grave has been dug by the old women the men place the coffin in it. The corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and placed in the coffin. In former times it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave, leaving the grave open. Now, however, this is not done and the grave is filled with earth. The corpse was laid with the head toward the west. A post was erected at the head of the grave indicating by carvings or articles hung upon it the

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[47] John Heckewelder, "History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States," Publications of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1876, pp. 270–6.

[48] David De Vries, "Voyages from Holland to America," New York (translation), 1853, p. 164 et seq.

764 person buried and his rank in the tribe. In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. The effects of the deceased are taken to the place of burial, the greater part being distributed among those who assist at the burial. As the corpse is let down into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. After the ceremony the mother, grandmother, or some near female relative goes evening and morning to the grave and weeps over it, this continues, with less and less regularity until the mourning period is over. Sometimes food is placed over the grave."[49]

"To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink. The doctors decide, in the case of a meat offering, which animal is to be sacrificed. When the guests are in the dark with no fire assembled an old man offers the meats to the enraged spirits and begs them to be pacified. The old man then communes with the spirits and tells the guests that they have been appeased.

"In the case of drink to be offered the guests assemble and drink together, then someone speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum on it."[50]

172 Archaeological evidence is not lacking to show that before
764 the historic period the custom of cleaning the bones of the
184 dead and subsequent burial of the skeleton, sometimes in groups forming ossuaries, had penetrated as far north as the neighborhood of New York.[51] The testimony coincides with the tradition among the modern Delawares, recorded by Harrington, that the "Wolf clan" practiced the rite of removing the flesh from the bones of the deceased and later interred the bones with appropriate ceremonies.[52] Lindeström (1654) makes mention of the Delawares stripping the skeleton, disposing of the bones upon a shelf and distributing the property of the deceased among the relatives.[53] These institutions among the Delawares are unquestionably of southern origin, and their introduction as far north as the domain of the Delawares is clearly attributable to the Nanticoke in
764 whose culture they were firmly established at an early period.

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[49] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–90.

[50] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[51] A. B. Skinner, "The Lenape Indians of Staten Island," Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, III, 1909, pp. 49–51.

[52] Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–4.

[53] Peter Lindeström, "Geographia Americae, 1654–6," ed. by A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1926, pp. 249–51.

In a subsequent chapter an account will be given of the mortuary practices of those Nanticoke who followed the Delawares to the west. These rites were carried out by the Nanticoke descendants among the Delawares as late as approximately 1860. From this case we learn the extent of assimilation of rites among the tribes which gradually joined together and formed the Delaware Nation of historic times. An interpretative summary of mortuary rites of the eastern tribes has appeared by MacLeod in which the southern origin of the bone cleaning complex is discussed.[34] 764

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Preparations for the Burial

yu'kwe	elaŋgu'ndieŋ	yu'ni·	aweᵒ'n	ə'n·da
And now	my kindred	this	person	when
wi·k·a'ɔs·i·tʻ.	a'hɔt	ə'n·da	wei·ta'k·ən·u't·əmaʻ	eᵒli·'xiŋg
is dead.	It is hard	when	interpret	the customs
wəl·aᵒ'haxaneᵒ'	aweᵒ'n	wi·ka'ɔs·i·t.	hi·'t·ami·	
although	person	is dead.	First	
ɔp·ha't·i·n	ta'm·'se	haŋgʷ.	neᵒ'wa	lə'n·owαk
they sitting-up (wake) all night	sometimes	said.	Four	men
nʻhak·a'lkwus·owak	ə'n·da	li·ʻnalə't·iŋ	eᵒ'li·	tci·'-
are used	when	in the game	because	they
p·axkwi·nalə't·i·n	kwu't·i·	tʻpu'kowe.	meᵒ'tci·	ə'n·da
play moccasin-game	all	night.	Now	when
pet·a'p·aŋg	naʻ	yu'ki·kʻ	kweᵒ'tcʻkun·a'xti·tʻ	ma't·a-
almost dawn	then	these	who dressed up	not
eᵒp·i·li·'tci·	naxα'nʻ	kwutaᵒ'+heᵒ'yɔk	webe'ndji·ɔ'p·aŋg	
here [corpse]	three	times shoot	east	
wundaxkwi·'i·	naxα'nʻ	kwut·aᵒ'heᵒn.	na'tcʻpəna'hanen	
toward	three times	they discharge guns.	And then afterwards,	
weᵒ'mi·aweᵒ'n	tuᵒ'kənaᵒ.	ni·'calənowα'k	ɔk	ni·'cax-
every body	they awaken.	Two men	and	two
kweᵒ'yɔk	a'ləmi·	we'ndjaxki·n	gi'ci·mi·tsaxti'ŋ·ge	
women	begin	to prepare food	after they had eaten	
nαtcʻ	weᵒ'mi·ke'ko	ki·cəna'k·wətʻ	nαtcʻ	yu'ni·
and then	everything	made ready	then	this

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[34] W. C. MacLeod, "Priests, Temples and Practice of Mummification in Southeastern North America," XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, 21-30, 1926, pp. 207-9.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

764 539

k'wutohe''pi·	pən·d̥'ha't·oⁿn	puheⁿxɔ'k·uŋg.	ɔk	weⁿ'mi·
body	will be put in	into box.	And	all

me'hmi·'tciŋg	ga'xta	gi·ˡ'səm·aⁿn	eⁿ'li·	al·a'p·at'
food	must be	cooked	because	[must] hurry

we'ndji·	te'p·i·	gi·cəna'k·ɔt'	ne'n·i	ɔ'lak'ʷ.
so that	enough time	ready made	the	hole [grave].

ɔk	cəmu'tc'	yu'ni·	me'hmi·'tciŋg	tc'paⁿtaⁿ's·u
And	also	this	food	is separated

me''həmi·kəmɔs·i·'tci·k	mi·tci''ti·t'	ɔk	yu'ki·k
by those who wait [on the dead person]	eat	and	these

eⁿ'laŋgoⁿma''ti·t'	ɔk	nahəli·ˡ'	ci·'kwi·ne''ti·t'.	ɔk
his kindred	and	also	the orphans [bereaved].[54]	And

nahəli·'	tə't·a	aweⁿ'n	witci·mi·'tsu.	meⁿ'tci·	ə'n·da
also	any	person	may eat with [them].	Now	when

i'ka	peⁿt·a's·i·k'	yu'ni·	kwut·oheⁿ'p·i·	kətəmaⁿ'-
there	they bring	this here	body	to the graves

ksowa'kan·i·ke·'k	ɔk	yu'ni·	ɔ'lak'ʷ	ki·'cən·a'k·wut'.
[group of pitiful bodies]	and	here,	hole [grave]	made ready.

natc'	pəndha't·oⁿn	ne'kwut·oheⁿ'pi·	natc'	laha'p·a
Then	they lower, put in	the body	then	afterward

aweⁿ'n	ki·'ci·maⁿn	pəmat·oⁿ'nheⁿt'.
someone	is selected	speaker.

The Burial Ceremony and Sermon (by Wi·tapano'xwe)

The person chosen to perform the ceremony of address in the following account is an old person well versed in the rites. He is usually a family head in the same family and group of the deceased. [465 466] It will be noted that he receives the ceremonial payment of the yard ("shoulder-length") of wampum. The rite described is understood to be of Munsee origin assimilated in ancient times to the Delaware rite.

Yu'kwe	elaŋgu'ndieŋgʷ	meⁿ'tci·	ki·cəna'k·wut'
"Here	our kindred	now	is ready

yu'ni·	k'təmaⁿ'ksowa'kan.	ki·ˡ'cəna'k·wut'	yu'kwe
this	grave.	Made ready	here

weⁿ'mi·	la'tceⁿs·owa'k·ana	ne'hel·ata'ŋgup'	wa'k·a
all	his belongings	which belonged	deceased

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[54] This refers to the collateral relatives of the deceased and his children.

ne•k·a'lkweŋg	a''kaham·awane•'yo	yu'ki·k	mi·'kəm- 764
who departed	to divide	these	the pall-bearers 539

ɔ·s·i·'tci·k.	[18] ndəl·a'ŋgǫ"s·da'wɑn	ga'hən·e	wani'ci·
[attendants] [laborers].	My kinsman	very	thankful

təl·i·'	ɔ·ngo•'məl·ən	e•'li·	me•'tci·	i'k·a	maxte•'xɑn
that	I address you	because	now	has come	the occasion, [has been]

ni·cu'kwəni·	kti·'hil·i·	a'la	le•həl·e•'xe•n.
two days	since	when	this life you departed.

yu'kwe	e'n·da	we•'tən·oma'	yu'ni·	kwu'tai·'k·ane
Here	when	I accept	this	one shoulder-length

ke•k'	də'l·i·	ke•xa'p'ton	ke'ko	e'n·da	l·ə'l·an
wampum	for me	to say a little	something	when	I speak to you

yu'kwe	elaŋgo"'məlan.	me•'tci·	k'po"ne•'ləndamən
now	my kinsman.	Now	you must forget

yu'ni·	endalausi·'eŋg"	ɔk	we•'mi·	yu'ki·	ce•
this	our home [earthly existence]	and	all	these	here

e'laŋgo"'mɑ't'.	ka't·ci·	nate•'lənda'ŋhan	ke'ko	h"tɑk·i·''
related [ones].	Don't	think	anything	of the past

e•'li·	me•'tci·	kwe'ndjaxki·	təl·i·'	wi·taŋgǫ"'s·i·n
because	now	you are prepared	for to	join the existence

ɔ's·i·'	we'ndji·ai·k'	ne'n·i·	lən·apeɔ'k·an.	e•'li·
of the deceased	where belong	the	soul-spirit.	As

kowa•'ton	we•'mi·tc'	awe•'n	tɔ'penshik·a•'k·un	tə'l·i
you know	everybody		will have this experience	for to

a'la	tala'us·i·n	yu'ni·	e'ndale•ləmu'k·weŋg".	nanen-
depart	this existence, life	now in this	our earthly home.	That

wu'ndji·	ha't·e	kwi·'tələt·owakan	kwi·n	pi·'pə'n·damən
is why	indeed	the teaching	many times	you have heard

təl·i·'tc'	awe•'n	wendja''kənan	ɔk	pi·'li·ha•'n	na'ni·
that will	a person	prepare	and	purify	that

ləna'p·eɔ'k·an	təl·i·'tc'	ma•tco"'xwen	cəxaxki·''·
soul-spirit	that it will	go homeward	straightforwardly, directly

wendji·'ai·k'	ko•xəna•'niŋg	kic·e•'ləmu'k·ɑŋ.	yu'
where belong	our father	the creator.	Now

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[18] The following is a solemn monologue by the master-of-ceremony kneeling over the grave. He is addressing the deceased.

764	wani'ci·.	tep·i·'laha'p·a	wəli·'	kəleᵉ'lənda	enxa'p'toᵘ-
539	thanks.	It is sufficient	well	to remember	what I have

neᵉ'ya.
said.

The master-of-ceremony now turns to and addresses the people present who are standing before the grave. [No ceremonial grouping is here required.]

elaŋgundieŋgʷ	kəneᵉ'məneᵉn	ełki·'kwi·	k'təma'k·a
Our kindred	we can see	how	pitiful

ək	ci·'eləndamowa'k·an·u	ə'nda	ci·'kwi·neᵉ'eŋg.
and	its sadness	when	we are orphaned.

kəneᵉ'məneᵉn	ełki·'kwi·	poᵘtci·hil·a'eŋgʷ	wa'ka
We can see	how	we miss	the deceased

wi·kɔ's·i·t'	elaŋgoᵘ'meŋg.	ək	keᵉpe'n·a	teᵉ'ka	wə'li·
departed	our relative.	And	we	be careful	well

kəleᵉ'ləndamu't·am	təli·'tc'	ga'xta'	mi'ŋgaxseᵉ'i·
to think	so that will	must	better

ləs·i·'neᵉn.	pi·''pənda'wəna	ki·'kayo'yəmənaniŋga
we do.	We have heard	our deceased ancestors

ełki·'kwi·	haŋgʷ	wi·nowa'm'kweŋg	tə'li·
how	said	they begged us, plead with us	that

kitci·'t·eᵉheᵉ'i·	pəna'elən·daməneᵉ'n	eᵉ'lau'si·'eŋgʷ	eᵉ'li·
with all our heart	we consider	our own life	how

ha't·e	aleᵉpə'ndowa'k·an	pi·'ci·[37]	wa'ni·	lən·a'p·e
indeed exists	the teaching	in reality	the	Delaware

mi·lkwu's·i·t'.	nanewu'ndji	aweᵉ'n	pi'ci· aᵉ'	wə'li·
handed down.	That is why	a person	there should in reality	carefully

keᵉ'naxkeᵉlə'n·damən	pəmau''sowa'k·an	təli·'tc'	wəli·'
study	[his] life	so that	carefully

wendja''konaᵉ'n	noᵉ'li·ł	h'ʷt·ən·apcɔ'k·ana.	pi·''pənda'-
prepare	that	his soul-spirit.	We have

mənen	lɔ'm·we	nɔ'tci·	we'sk'hakam·i·'k·e	nɔ'tci
heard	a long time	ago	in the beginning of the earth	since has been

wa''kut'	ełki·'kwi·	ahoᵘ'hɔ'łtuk	mɔ't·omak·an	na'n'i·
known	how	hard to travel	his road	that

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[37] If someone should contradict a speaker he would exclaim *pi'ci·*, "It's a fact," "It's so!";—aᵉ "there should," a mild imperative.

koᵘ'xəna pi·'ɬsi·t' mani't·o. cukwα'nd aweᵉ'n weᵉlauᵘ- 764-539
our father the pure spirit. But any person cleanly

si·t' mi'ŋgaxse təp·oweᵉ'ləndamən
living less handicap, advantageous easy he feels it to be

mu't·əmeᵉn ne'n·i·təma'k·an. aweᵉ'n paxki·'skitcila'u'si·t'
to follow, to tread in the path. Anyone heedless, careless life living

a'hohɔ'ɬkut' mət·oma'k·an. eᵉ'li· koᵘ'xəna tahɔ'l·au
his is hard road. Because our father loves

weᵉ'mi· tαmi·mᾳ'səma wu'ndjitc aweᵉ'n ulaᵉteᵉ'nami·n
all his children that is why a person will enjoy life

ə'n·da wə'li· ɔk nala'i· le'heleᵉ'xeᵉt'. ən·dą'neŋg
when properly and quietly he lives. When he sees

weᵉ'mi ke'ko na'xpən·e yu'ni· peᵉmi·ga'xtiŋg pəna'
every thing including the the year even

yu'kwe ə'n·da ta'xkɔkəna'mi·eŋg weᵉ'mi· ke'ko
now this time when it is fall every thing

ki·ci·'kαn ɔk ə'nda wuski·si·'kɔŋ weᵉ'mi· ke'ko
has matured and when early spring-time every thing

sak·a'ɬkɔt ɔk ki·'ki·ckwi·'k·e k'təma'n·daməneᵉn təli·'
grows, buds out and day by day we feel that

pe'tci· k'cəteᵉ'kamən na'ni xą'səna ki·'cux
the coming heat that he our brother the sun

ki·'ckwun·oᵘ'keᵉs ɔk ke'naxkeᵉləmuk·oᵘ'nα koᵘ'xɔna
day-moon and he takes care of us our father

geᵉtan'to'wi·t ti·t'pukwi·'k·e ɔk nahəli·' na'ni·
Creator during the night and including him

xą'səna ni·'pai·ki·'cux. nawu'ndji weᵉ'mi· ek·alaᵉ'mi·
our brother night-moon. From this all according

pe'tci· mi·ɬkwu's·i·t' tci·'tan·əs·owa'k·an manitu'wαk
coming their given power, strength spirits

hukweᵉ'yuŋg ə'nda leᵉləmu'k·uk ɔk nahəli·' neᵉ'ki·k'
above where dwell, and including those

wi·'t·au'su'm'kweŋg[34] yu'tali· endalau'si·'cŋg[35] ceᵉ'la-
who live among us here where we live [on earth]. That is

haṇeni·' elaŋgu'ndieŋg pi·''pənda'məneᵉn e'nda aleᵉ-
that our kindred we have heard when we

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[34] Referring to tree, water, vegetable, fruit, animals, deer, birds, spirits, who live on earth among us.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

764 po'm'kweŋgʷ	ki·'kayoyɔmaᵃn·i'ŋga.	yu'kwɔtci·tc'
539 were being taught by	our deceased ancestors.	Now then yet

kʷt·en·au''ki·	yu'kwe	wu'ndji·	te'l·ən	ɔk	kwu't·i·
one other thing.	This [day]	hence	ten	and	one

t'xo'k·wənɑk'ha'k·e	kowato'ʷneᵉn	eli·'xiŋg	təli'tc'
days	you know	the rule	that

weᵉ'mi·	aweᵉ'n	ga'xta	pot·oʷ'n	ki·'sɔmaɔ'k·an	eᵉ'li·
every	body	must	bring	feast "cooked food"	because

na'n·e	lɑk·hi'k·wi·	da''kwi·p'hɔ't·i·n.[59]
at that	time	a feast, we shall have ["eating together"].

eᵉ'li·	pi·''pon·da'wəna	ki·kayoyəmɔnaᵃn·i'ŋga	ehela''-
Because	we have heard	our dead ancestors	what

konotəmi'xti·t'	loweᵉ'yɔk	haŋg	o'n·da	te'l·ən	ɔk
they said about it	they said	[said]	when	ten	and

kwu't·i	t'xo'k'wəni	ə'n·da	leᵉla'əhɔk	paᵉt'	na'ni·
one	days	when	mid-sky [zenith]	comes	the

txą'səna	gi·ckwuni·'	gi·'cux	nɑtc'	meᵉk·əni·'hil·ąᵉk'
our brother	day	moon [sun]	and then	the last time

kwi·pəmaᵉ'nen	wa'ni·	wi·kaɔ's·i·t.	ɔk	kowaᵉtoʷ'nen
we eat together, feast	that	departed.	And	we know

weᵉ'mi·	aweᵉ'n	a'pi·'lowa	wi·'kɔs·i·'li·t'	eᵉlaŋgoma''tci
everybody		there is	deceased	relative

naneki·'ckwi·k	kwi·poma'wəna	elaŋgo'meŋ	a'lɑnde
that day	we eat with	our relations	some

ləmwe''kami·k	kəni'm'kałgoʷ'nɑ	loweᵉ'nhaŋg	paxkɑ'ndji·
times long ago	left us	it is also said	extremely

wəleᵉ'ləndamowa'k·an.	ə'nda	aweᵉ'n	ma't·a	pe't·aᵉk'ʷ
gladness, joy.	When	anyone	does not	bring

me'hmi·'tciŋg	ci'xkuŋdj	me't·aelə'ndam	elaŋgoʷ'meŋ
food	very	disappointed, grieved [are]	our relative

təliŋgɔ's·i·n	pe'mi·'tsaxtiŋg	lo'weᵉ[60]	k'təma'k·elə'mwi·
they look on	those eating	he says	sadly, pitifully

neᵉ'pehɑtc'	pet·a'k·e	mi·'tci·a.	cela'hənen	elaŋ-
"Did anybody for me	bring me	food?"	Now then	my

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[59] The feast usually given to the deceased one year after his death is called *wi·kɔᵉ'mwi·n*, the feast to the individual deceased, only a few relatives taking part. In the *da'kwi·'p'hɔt·i·n*, both the living and the dead are believed to be feasting together.

[60] Referring to the neglected spirit, who now speaks.

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gu′ndieŋg lɔk'hi′k·wi· a'hot' tɔli·′ aweᵋ′n wɔli·′
kindred how difficult [it is] for anyone carefully

n'ha′ɔ'tun eli·′xiŋg alopondowa′k·an. yu′kwelap·i·
to follow the rule teaching. Now again

kəmi·′koᵋlae′mɔł ndɔla′ŋgundoᵋ′stuk' teᵋ′k·a wɔli·′
I call to your memory my kindred (vocative) be cautious carefully

keᵋ′naxki·to′′tam ga′t·a we′ndjaxkɔna′wɔna na′n·i·
you observe we must we prepare the

lɔna′p·eɔk·an neᵋ′li· kwi·yaᵃ′gwi· wɔlamalsi·′eŋgʷ ɔk'
soul-spirit while still in good health we are and

wɔle′lɔm·uk·weŋg na′ni· ko′xɔna geᵋtan'to′wi·t'. eᵋ′li·
the blessings of him our father the Creator. Because

elaŋgu′ndieŋg ako′ kowaᵋtoᵋ′nen wi·xka′utci·aᵋ′ kwu′t·i·
my kindred not we know how suddenly in one

spa′ŋgweɔk·an nɑtc' alaha′t·e yu′ni· ɔndalausi·′eŋgʷ.
winking of an eye besides then the end this our earthly home.

eᵋ′li· koᵋ′xɔna tɔli·′ gi·ceᵋ′lɔmi·n ɔk' wuni·′hil·a′tamɔn
Because our father so created and he has the power

ełki·′kwi· kweᵋtɔnɔma′k·weŋg kle′hel·eᵋ′xeyɔk·anɔ′na.
sufficient to take from us our life.

eᵋlaŋgu′ndieŋg a′hi· k'hɔheᵋlɔn·a′uk·i· ke′ko geᵋ′ski·a′
Our kindred very many are things which I could

kweita'kɔnu′tɔmu′lan cuk'ʷ elaŋgu′ndieŋg meᵋ′tci·
explain to you [interpet to you] but my kindred now

ta′hi·hwu′ska k'tɔmaᵋk'si·′hɔna. ni·′p·ɔna nda′hi·
very greatly we are weak and unable. I myself very

ke′ko li·′laem·a n'ha′k·ai eᵋ′li· haŋgʷ ma′t·a
matter grieved myself because it is said not

teᵋp·i·′hi·leᵋ′i· pɔna′elɔndamowa′k·an. cuk'ʷ wani′ci·
broad enough my mind [mentality]. But I am thankful,

koᵋ′pɔn·e mɔcaᵋ′tamɔneᵋn eli·′xiŋg yu′ni· ale′pon-
however, we remember the rule and this teach-

dowa′k·an ɔk' wu′ndji kwɔlaᵋ′teᵋnami·′nen ɔ′nda
ing and on account of it it brings us joyous feeling when

neɔk'ʷti·′yeŋg kwi·ya′k·wi· ɔae′i·k'tenxi′ŋhɔna. ɔk'
we see each other we being still quite a number [of us] many of us. And

naxpo′xkweᵋnen ɔ′nda pɔ′ndameŋg ko′xɔna tɔ′p'-
we take with us when we hear our father his

764
539

tona'k·an	eʷ'li·	keʷ'aki·	lə'ə·i·eŋgʷ	ga't·a	wəli·'lacha'-
word	because	our best	we do	to try	to

wən·a	na'ni·	keʷ'tan'to'wi·t'	peʷ'tci	ki·ce'ləmuk·oŋ.
please	the	Great Spirit	even	our Creator.

wani'ci·	teʷ'p·i·lahap·a.[81]
I thank you,	this is all for now.

Preparations For The Burial

Free Translation.

And now, my kindred, this person is dead. It is hard to explain how things should be done when a person is dead. First is the sitting up (wake), as is sometimes said. Four men are employed for the game because they play the moccasin game all night. Now when it is almost dawn, then those who dressed up the deceased shoot three times towards the east. Thrice they discharge guns. And then afterwards they awaken everybody. Two men and two women begin to prepare food and after they have eaten everything is made ready to put the body into the box. And the food must be cooked in a hurry so that there will be time enough to make the hole (grave). And also the food is separated by those who are in attendance who eat and those his kindred, and the orphans and relatives. And also anyone else may eat with them. Now when they bring this body to the group of pitiful bodies (graves), the hole is made ready. Then they lower the body and someone next is selected as speaker.

Address By An Invited Speaker

"Here now, my kindred, now this grave is ready. All his belongings are ready to be divided among the laborers (pallbearers). Now, my kinsman,[82] I am indeed thankful that I can address you because the time of two days has elapsed since you departed this life. Here when I accept this one shoulder length of wampum as an inducement for me to say something when I address you, now, my kinsman. Now you must forget this our earthly existence and all these here related ones. Do not think anything of the past, because 764-539 you are now prepared to join the existence of the deceased where the soul spirit belongs. As you know, everybody will have the experience to depart this life. This is our earthly home, that is why, indeed, you have heard many times that a person should prepare and purify the soul-spirit so that it will go homeward directly where dwells Our Father, our Creator. Now, thanks. It is required to remember well what I have said."

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[81] This terminates the address of the speaker at the grave.

[82] This solemn monologue is addressed to the deceased by the master-of-ceremony as he kneels over the grave.

[The Master-of-Ceremony now turns and addresses the people present who are standing before the grave.]

"Our kindred, we can see how pitiful it is and its sadness when we are orphaned. We can see how we miss the departed deceased, our relative, and we must be careful to think well upon it so that we may do better. We have heard our deceased ancestors how, it is said, they begged and pleaded with us that we should consider our own life earnestly as it stands in the teaching of reality handed down to the Delaware. That is why a person should positively and carefully study his life to prepare properly his soul-spirit. We have heard, a long time ago in the beginning of the earth, since it was known, how to travel the road of Our Father, the Pure Spirit. But any person living cleanly has less handicap and feels it easy to tread in the path. Anyone living a careless life has a difficult road. Because Our Father loves all of his children that is why a person can enjoy life when he lives properly and quietly. When he sees everything, even the passage of the year, even now at this time when fall is coming on, everything has matured; or in the early springtime when everything is budding out, day by day we feel the coming on of the heat which he, our Elder Brother, the Day Moon (sun) gives it, and as he, our Father, the Creator, takes care of us during the night along with him our Elder Brother, the Night Moon. Wherefore all is according to the strength given them by the spirits above, where they dwell, and also those who live among us here where we live on earth. It is that, our kindred, which we have heard when we were being taught by our deceased ancestors. Now, there is yet one

76+ other thing. Ten and one days from this day, you know it
539 is the rule that everybody must bring cooked food because at that time we celebrate the feast.

"As we have heard our deceased ancestors, as they spoke about it, saying as we are told, when ten and one days, when in mid-sky (noon) comes our Elder Brother, the Day Moon (sun), then we eat together for the last time with the departed. And we know, all of us, that on that day our deceased relative is there as we eat with our relations, some having left us in the ancient days, as is said, bringing us extreme joy and gladness. When anyone does not bring food our relative is disappointed and grieved as he beholds those who are eating and says sadly, 'Did anyone bring food for me?' Now then, my kindred, how difficult it is for a person to follow the teaching and the rules properly. Now again, I call to your memory, kindred, how difficult it is for a person to follow the teaching and rules properly. Now again, I call to your memory, kindred, to be cautious and carefully observe how we must prepare the soul-spirit while we are still in good health and enjoying the blessings of him Our Father, the Creator, because kindred, we do not know how suddenly in one wink of an eye, even then the end may be of this our earthly home, because Our Father so created our life and he has sufficient power to take it from us.

"Kindred, very many are the things which I could explain to you, but kindred, now we have become very weak and pitiful. I, myself, am very much grieved over the matter because, as it is said, my mind is not sufficient for it but I am, nevertheless, thankful that we remember the rule and this teaching, from which we derive a feeling of joy as we see each other, there being quite a number of us. And we take away with us Our Father's word when we hear it as we do our utmost to try and please the Great Spirit, even Our Creator. I thank you. This is all for now."

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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NANTICOKE RITES

TEXTS RELATING TO THE NANTICOKE

N
D

It is not surprising that through early association with 101
the Nanticoke of extreme southeastern Pennsylvania and 171
Delaware before the Indian emigration from these regions, the Delawares should have assimilated, or had in common with this interesting tribe, certain practices and beliefs which have survived in tradition. Indeed we learn that as late as the period when the Delawares had settled down in Kansas there were among them a small number of Nanticoke families who at the time retained their peculiar language and some of their distinct customs and ceremonies. Wi·tapano'xwe was, fortunately for us, versed in some of these elements of lore and dictated his knowledge in the following text versions.

N

Owing to the early disruption of the Nanticoke after the 101
abandonment of the original territory on both sides of upper Chesapeake Bay, the tribe became gradually widely dispersed among the Iroquois in Canada and the West.[1] Some of them clung to their early affiliates the Delawares, whence the memories and traditions of the tribe among the Delawares of today. A short account of Nanticoke history in connection with the Delaware Nation has been presented in the author's study of the Big House Ceremony (*op. cit.*, p. 16) and a series of references to articles on the language and ethnology of the Nanticoke has been included in it.

NANTICOKE ORIGIN OF WITCHCRAFT AND POISON

N
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An interesting phase in the traditional history of Delaware customs comes out in a tale that attributes the origin of Delaware witchcraft and the administration of poisons to the Nanticoke. The tale in question is an accusation against the Nanticoke implying a degree of innocence on the part of the

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[1] F. G. Speck, "The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, with a Review of Linguistic Material from Manuscript and Living Sources," Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1927, pp. 1–77.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape
Nanticoke NM11

N
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754 Delawares in respect to the arts of black magic that would not be easy to establish for any one tribe in a culture area where similarity is so general throughout. It appears, however, from a scrutiny of data pertaining to the Nanticoke of colonial times that this tribe possessed a reputation for its knowledge of malefic sorcery. And aside from the earlier sources the tradition had survived with force among the Delawares of Zeisberger's time, as we shall see in the ensuing quotations, while it has not by any means died out among the Delawares today, as our texts show. Harrington also has notes on the same belief from the Oklahoma Delawares.[1]

N
754 And again, some Seneca assert that witchcraft was introduced among them by an Algonquin tribe which they had adopted. ". . . The *I''dos* company, one of the medicine societies, is said to be the survival of the older witch society introduced among the Seneca by the Nanticoke." [2]

> "By the Nantikoks the Indians have been instructed in the use of a peculiar kind of poison called *Mattapassigan*,[3] meaning poison. The Nantikoks dwelt formerly in Maryland, along the sea, some of them still living there, and later moved to Wajomick [4] along the Susquehannah, finally proceeding further northward. In the late war they were driven out with the Six Nations. They brought knowledge of this poison, which carries many evils with it, to the nations and also to the Delawares. What it is and whereof it is made I am unable to say, as I have never seen it, and the descriptions vary. Possibly it is prepared in different ways. It is said not to be baneful in itself and to receive its power for working injury through witchcraft. It is declared to be capable of infecting whole townships and tribes with disorders as pernicious as the plague. With its use the sorcerers are said to be able to remove a person though he may be several hundred miles away. The Delawares have endeavored to extirpate the shocking evil. Their efforts extending over two years were in vain, for those possessed of the knowledge of its uses kept the knowledge secret. The Nantikoks who were wretched inventors of this poison and its arts, have nearly destroyed their own nation

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[1] M. R. Harrington, information, 1926, also "Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape," 1921, p. 124.

[2] A. C. Parker, "Code of Handsome Lake." Bull. 163, N. Y. State Museum, Albany, 1913, pp. 27, 29.

[3] This venerable term is still in use among the Delawares of Oklahoma, who pronounce it *mat·apas·i·´ken*, "evil medicine." They are, moreover, cognizant of all that is baneful in association with the idea.

[4] Evidently intended for *wadjo'wik*, "among the mountains."

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape
Nanticoke NM11

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by it. Its use is rendered efficacious by a company of murderous sorcerers uniting in the same design. Its effects are the more terrible, because it is used not only in connection with individuals but whole communities. In their practices the sorcerers, except in case of the poison described, seem to use no Beson (*pi·'sun*, medicine) but a little piece of an old blanket or something else. This they rub in their hands until formed into a little ball. Naming the one who is marked for death, they throw this ball at him, saying that he shall die. They call this shooting the witchball. Any person wishing to get another whom he hates out of the way will hire a sorcerer or several of them to do it, paying them in wampum. The Indians say that their poison and witchcraft have no effect upon white people because they use so much salt in their victuals. But this is merely a pretense, as there are instances of Europeans having fallen victims to their skill in poisoning.

"It is remarkable that Indians of such character have been led to lead a new life and turn from all deceitful practices. From them it has been learned that most of their dark practices grow out of imagination and superstition. Of those, however, who seem versed in the use of *Mattapassigan* none have to the present time been converted, though some with whom I came into contact were inclined to better themselves but were unable to refrain from their evil practices, being afraid, apparently, that their lives would be endangered."[6]

Nɔ'TCI·'HWEᵉYɔ'K·AN; *Origin of Witchcraft*

D
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Lɔ'mwe	wi·əxka'utci	wa'ni·	lən·ɐᵃ'pe	wi·əxka'-
Long time ago	all at once	these	Lenápe	suddenly

undaola'o	yu'li·ł	une't'koᵘ'wi·	lɔ'n·owαk.	gąci·ləs·i·'tci·k
discovered a secret	[of] these	Nanticoke	people.	Great wise men

maxkama'o	neᵉli·'ł	awenhakeᵉ'yo	təli·'	e't'ma
discovered	of those	uncivilised	that	were

xeᵉlunalu'k·un.
killing them in numbers.

kwu't·i·	xkweᵉ	ahi·paᵃ'lsu'	e'nxαn	lɔ'kwi·k'
One	woman	taken very sick	every	evening

əndama'lsu.	ge'hel·α	meᵉtci·'gai[7]	kąᵉce'ləndamowaᵃ'-
and got worse.	Indeed	now it was very	greatly astonishing

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[6] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–8.

[7] Used to denote the "feeling of weakness, yet with the ability to try to do the thing desired." It is always used by chiefs in addressing their people, *Meᵉ'tcka*—"try hard." The expression denotes deep humility of the speaker, yet a sincere devotion to the cause, and solicitude for its accomplishment. *nda''hi·*

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape
Nanticoke NMII

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k·anu	enxu'nalund	lən·a'pe.	ki·ci·'maᵃn	ni·'ca
phenomenon	the many lives which they had taken	Indians.	They engaged	two

gącil·əs·i·''tci·k	l·ə'n·owak	tə'l·i	keᵉna'gi·'toᵘn	weᵉ'mi·
wise men	men	so that	to guard	all

ɔka'i·	eᵉ'pi'ʻt	na'	pa'lsi·t.	t·ət·a''seᵉgi·	təbu'kwi·k
around	the place where lay	that	sick person.	Sometime	in the night

wi·əxka'utci	na'	pən·da'wɑn	də'l·i	kuk·ɑndji·'mwi·n
suddenly	then	they heard	so like	hooting

k'o'k·oᵒa.[8]	mąt·anak'ge'	ˎna'lapi·pi·ˡ·'li·	k'o'k·oᵒs
owl.	In a little while	then again another	owl

naẋk·u't·ɑm.	nayu''	ẋkwi·'tanaẋkwe'	dwe'tci·	na'u-
answered.	Right there	top of the tree	they came	and

həlaneᵉ'yo	el·i·'	nayu'ni·	tə'l·i	kəl·i·'p·amaᵃn	yu'li·ł
alighted	as	right here	that	fixed their gaze	this

paᵃlsi·'li·t·tci.	ne'k·ex	nane''	peᵉxu'tci·	tə'n·dagą'ci·p'-
the sick person.	These	there	near by	there

haᵃ'neᵉ'yo'	neᵉk'	gąci·l·əs·i·'tci·k	lə'n·owɑk.	ni·ka'ni·
hiding	those	wise powerful	men.	Beforehand

gi·ci·'xtoᵘneᵉyo	təl·i·'	li·te'ni·''laᵃn	na'kɔ'wi·	aweᵉ'n
they had fixed it	so that	they kill	any	person

ci·'t·a'kɔ	t·'u'naᵃn	nani·'aweᵉn	ne''hel·aᵃt'
or else	capture	that person [or thing]	the one who killed

lən·ape'ɔx.	na'xpɔn·a'nen	yu'ki·k'	k'ok''os·ɑk
the people [Delawares].	And then	these	owls

nayu'li·	nax'ko'laɔn.	ɔ'n·dɑ	pɔni·'hi·la'di·t	kek·ula''
they these	were shot off where they sat.	And when	they fell	discovered

yuk	pi·li·aweᵉ'ni·k	ni·'ca'	awe'ᵉnhake'ᵉyɔk'.	ɔk
these	something else	two	persons uncivilized (savages).	And

suᵘ'suᵘpsuwɑk	a'cɔwi·luŋg'huᵘ'sowak'	xoᵉ's·a'[9]
naked	They wore across the breast	skin

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nandeka'k·wan, "I am unable to do the thing even to express myself as my forefathers did, but I'll do the best I can," is another formal expression of humility with devotion used by the trained speaker. To use these phrases is an accomplishment of the experienced Delaware orator.

[8] Great horned owl.

[9] Refers to a piece of undressed skin with hair on.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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D

ɔk pə′n·da′s·ən·a′′k·an nə′t·ət′ nałən·e′ tci·p·i·eᵊ′leᵉk′ 754
and pouch small that besides had destructive 539

N

pi·′′suᵉn ne′notci·weᵊ′i·t·uŋg talən·a′s·u. ə′n·da 754
medicine the witchcraft was carried in. When

ɔ·′p·aŋg weᵊ′mi· aweᵊ′n weᵉhoma′o mae′hel·aᵉn
next morning everybody was notified they gathered

pən·a′ɔn neᵊ′ki·k′ ne′həl·ə′n·dji·k′ lə′n·owak.
and examined those killed men [the two owl-men].

akuaweᵊ′n maxgao′wi· weᵉɔ′haᵉt′. na′xpən·e nan·e′n
Nobody was found that knew them. And then those very

eᵉkao′k·we ta′l·i· p′sən·d′hak·e′′hən. ni·ci·′-
under the trees there were covered up in the ground [buried]. Two

k·eᵉt·i′ŋ·ge wi·əxka′utci na′ pe′tci ki·i·′keᵉyak′ ni·′ca
years afterward suddenly that came visiting two

xkweᵊ′yak. weᵊ′mi·yu′tali· kwi·′la′′ta′ oxəm·e′yɔk
women. All everywhere inquired in vain

wi·t·aye′matai·tci·. napən·ahən·e′n la′p·imaehel·aᵊ′n
their husbands. Again gathered together

ɔk wendji·′maᵉn neᵊ′ki·k xkweᵊ′yɔk. weᵊ′hom·aɔ′k
and with sent for those women. They informed them

loᵘ′weᵉn tceᵉla′′ ne′ ekaɔ′k·we pɔ′k·hak·ehən ni·′ca′
it was said right over there those trees under are buried two

aweᵊ′ni·k no′t′huk·′kɔ·n·a′n·ak ni′ci· gaxtə′n′ petci-
people they came among us two years ago brought

na′x′poxwe′yɔk tci′p·i·eᵊ′l·eᵉk′ ke′ko. ceᵊ′la han·eᵉk′
with them bad thing. There are [pointing out, motion]

ku′t·act′xi·ŋx′ge de′n·xuᵉna′luk·unanək′. lowe′ᵉyɔk′neᵉk
sixty [persons] of us they have killed that many of us. They said

neᵊ′ki·k′ xkweᵊ′yɔk tə′l·i ne′k′ʷtən·pi·s·gək·e′ loᵘ′weᵉ
these women that one night they said

eᵉli·′ lə′n·owak ma′t·a′ wa′kwu′s·i·i· tə′t·a eᵉya′′t·i·.
both men no one knew where they went.

o′n·da′ wei′t·a′kən·utama′und′ loweᵊ′yɔk nałən·eᵊ′-
When they explained it to them they said they were the

ki·′k. ə′nda′lə′n·d′ yu′kwe′ ki·′loᵘ′wa′ one′t′koᵘ′wak′
same ones. When they told these you Nanticokes

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xuᵉ′ha	kowaᵉ′toneᵉyo‘	ne′n·i·	tci′p·i·eᵉ′l·eᵉk‘	pi·′sun.
alone	you know	that	bad	medicine.

loweᵉ′yɔk	ne‘k‘	aku′ta‘	ne′n·i	li·ⁱm‘k·ɔt·uᵘ′wi·	tə′l·i
They said	that	is not	what	it was intended for	that

aweᵉ′n	‘ni·′laᵉweᵉtun.	cuk	yu′ni·	li·ⁱ′mkɔt‘	li·
anybody	kill [take life].	But	this it is	intended	to be

nakaᵉ′lkɔt	ə′nda‘	kok‘ʷsa′p·iŋ	li·	nakaᵉ′lkɔt‘
used	for to	searching out, seeking to learn [to test out circumstances].	So it is to	be used.

ə′nda‘	ka‘tawaᵉ′taoŋg	ke′kɔ	eᵉlaehɔ′s·i·t‘
When	we want to know	something	how they conduct themselves

aweᵉ′n	ci·t·ak·ɔ′	tə′t·a‘	peᵉmai·′‘keᵉt‘.	ə′nda‘
anyone,	or	where	they may be camped.	When

aᵉ′lamweᵉyɔ′k·an·i·k‘	nda‘	maxtaᵉ′geŋg‘	ďo′‘pali·′
in time of fear	in	war-time	scouting

lə′n·owαk	ɑlokeᵉ′man‘	tə′li	weᵉ′mi·	li·	ɔka′e
men	they send out	to	all	for	around

keᵉ′na‘gi·toneᵉyɔx	tə′li	aᵉ	ma′t·a	wi·xkołko′wαn
they guard	that	to	not	surprise them

aweᵉ′ni·k‘	ma′t·a	weᵉliam‘go′m‘kweŋg.
any persons	not	on friendly terms with us.

naxpa‘ən·e′n	ku′t·i·	keᵉ′ptcaᵉt	ski·ⁱ′no‘
Afterwards	one	foolish (in selfish sense)	young man

ə′nda‘	ki·i·′k·eᵉt‘	oneᵉ′t‘ko	wi·ⁱ′keᵉi·	unak‘hi′k·ayi·n
when	visiting	Nanticoke	visited	he borrowed

ne′n·i·	ne‘hno′‘tci·weᵉi·′tuŋg	npi·′sun.	yu′kwe	pe′tci
that	witchcraft	medicine.	To this [day]	coming

akoᵘ′	ha′c·i	kwu′t·‘goxɔx‘to′wαn.	neke′x	k̇eᵉk‘ʷ
not	ever	brought it back.	So there was	wampum

nhaka′lkwɔt‘	ə′nda‘	gi·‘kai·′hαnd‘.
used	when	borrowing.

eᵉ′li‘	yu′ni·li·wa′xkut	əndaᵉweᵉ′n	ma′t·a
So	this is a known fact	when anyone	not

mayaᵉo′peᵉi·′tut [16]	ne·′k·αtc	x‘ʷtən·apeᵉ′ma	ci·tak·ɔ′
observe the strict rules	he himself	his family	or

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[16] Meaning that the wampum should be given as a binding obligation when something has been received, as in the case of the medicine. The wampum makes

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eᵃ'laŋgoma'tci	ci·kaᵃ'kok'	ka'ŋgami·	ke'ko.
his relatives	an affliction	mysterious	thing.

nan·eki·'ckwi·'k'	wu'n·dji'	al·emi·'xɑn
That very day	from	was beginning

ahaᵉnhu'k·wi·	pi·'li·	aweᵉnhak·eᵃ'yɑk'
it was [introduced] handed from one to another	other	uncivilized peoples

waᵃ'təlaᵉn	weᵃ'mi	eləma'kami·'k	eᵉlai·'k·eᵉt'	wa'ni
to instruct them	all	over the earth	where dwell	these

meᵉx̣keᵃ'yaxgə's·i·t'	yu'	manateᵃ'yuŋg.	ceᵉla''-
red flesh men [red men]	this	continent on.	That is

hən·en	təli·'	waᵃ'toᵘn	wa'ni·	lən·a'p·e
the way	how	understand	the	Delaware [the beginning of witchcraft].

Free Translation.

A long time ago all at once the Delawares suddenly discovered a secret of the Nanticoke people. The men of power discovered of those who were barbarous that they were killing them in numbers. One woman was taken very ill; every evening she became worse. Indeed it was most astonishing how many lives were taken among the people. They engaged two men of power to guard the dwelling all around where the sick person was. Some time in the night there they heard the hooting of an owl. Shortly after then another owl answered. Right there in a tree-top they came and alighted as they fixed their gaze straight upon the sick person. There close by were hiding those men of power. Beforehand they had arranged it so that they could kill anyone or else capture the creature who had killed the people. And then these owls were shot down where they sat, and when they fell it was discovered that these were transformations of two barbarians. And they were naked. They wore across the breast a skin and a small pouch in which evil medicine was carried for purposes of witchcraft. When everyone was notified next morning, they assembled and examined those dead men. No one was found who knew them. And then those same ones

the exchange innocuous. If he failed to carry out the rules it would bring the sickness back to him converting the medicine from a curative agent to a poison. For further discussion see chapter on Wampum, p. 63, "Big House Ceremony."

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754 were buried in the ground. Two years later there came
539 suddenly to visit there two women. All about they inquired
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754 in vain for their husbands. Again they assembled and sent for these women. They informed them saying that right over there under those trees were buried two creatures who came among us two years ago, bringing with them a bad thing. And behold there were sixty of us as many as they had killed. They then decided, these women, that one night, as said, no one knew where these men had gone. When it was explained to them they said they were the same men. Whereupon they were told, "You Nanticoke alone know of the evil-medicine." They replied, "That is not what it was intended for, namely that anyone should take life. But it is intended to be used for divination. Thus it is to be used when we wish to know how anyone is, or where they may be camped. When in time of fear during war-time they send out scouting men to guard all around in order that no one may surprise them, anybody not on peaceful terms with us."

Afterwards one foolish young man while visiting among the Nanticoke borrowed that witchcraft medicine. Down to this day it was never taken back. And there was wampum used when borrowing. So this is a known fact that if anyone does not rightly observe the custom he himself, his family or his relatives would suffer affliction from some mysterious cause. From that day it originated and was introduced to mankind, among the barbarous tribes all over the earth where dwell the red-skinned people on this continent. That is how the Delawares knew of it.

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NANTICOKE SKELETON DANCE

764 A few words of explanation may make clearer the symbolism of this strange rite. The feast of the dead possesses features to be remarked upon as characteristic of tribes of the southeastern area who perform a reburial of the bones of the deceased, after which the soul is permanently dismissed from association with kindred living upon earth.

The Nanticoke have long been notorious for the custom,

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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attributed to them by a number of authorities[11] covering almost three centuries, of removing the flesh from the bones of the dead and preserving them in bundles which were kept for a time by the family of the deceased, finally to be buried together in an ossuary as certain sources tell us, or kept in a building called a "bone house."[12] This strange funeral institution is undoubtedly of far southern origin as MacLeod has independently announced.[13] Quotations from the sources have been so numerous in literature dealing with the Nanticoke that it is not urgent to reproduce them here. There is, however, reason to note an extension of the custom to the Delawares which the latter, as I interpret probabilities, have acquired through association with the Nanticoke. The two tribes appear to have had close association throughout the span of their known history. A Delaware author of 1890, R. C. Adams, gives particulars of a Skeleton Dance practiced by the "Wolf Clan" of the Delawares which traced its origin to the Nanticoke. This description of the dance which I quote, coincides in part with the features of the ceremony described in the following text by Wi·tapano'xwe.

"*Human Skeleton Dance.* Given only by the Wolf Clan of the Delawares. A certain dance given as a memorial to the dead was supposed to clear a way for the spirit of the deceased to the spirit land.

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[11] William Vans Murray, "Manuscript Vocabulary of the Nanticoke" (1792), Collections of American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, edited with notes by D. G. Brinton, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Society*, Philadelphia, 1892. See also F. G. Speck "The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians," 1, Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1927, pp. 32–5; Heckewelder (1819), *op. cit.*, p. 92; D. Brainerd (1745), "Life of Brainerd," Philadelphia, 1838, pp. 169–72; Gabriel Thomas (1698), "An Historical and Geographical Account of Pennsylvania and West Jersey," Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. Ed. by A. C. Myers, New York, 1920, p. 340.

[12] Given by Murray as "Chiocason- or awacason- house," a term apparently related to Virginia Powhatan "quiocason" of corresponding meaning. The Nanticoke vocabulary also gives the term "Matsucksumpq." Reconstruction of this strange combination of consonants results apparently in resolving it to something akin to Delaware *ma'tci'kami·k*, denoting "abandoned or condemned ground" or "the house of the abandoned" meaning a grave. The term has been recorded more accurately by Hariot (1588) as "machacomoco" in the dialect of the tidewater Virginia tribes.

[13] W. C. MacLeod, "Priests, Temples and the Practice of Mummification in Southeastern North America." XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, 1926, pp. 228–9.

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764 When a member of the Wolf Clan died, the flesh was stripped from the bones and buried, and the bones were dried at some private place. At the end of twelve days the skeleton would be wrapped in white buck skin and taken to a place prepared for the dance and there held up by someone. As the singers would sing the men who held the skeleton would shake it and the bones would rattle as the dancers would proceed around it. After the dance the skeleton was buried. Tradition says that in ancient times some of the head men in the Wolf Clan had a dream that they must treat their dead in that way, and the custom has been handed down to them for many centuries. The other clans say the custom does not belong to them. The custom has been long dropped. There has not been a skeleton dance since 1860." [14]

Harrington refers to information collected on the ceremony but prefers Adam's account in his memoir without further comment (Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–184). There may, however, be some unreliable statements in the Adams description.[15]

Zeisberger's description of the ceremony is also at variance with the others, but in several essential features the versions agree. Thus he observes:

> "The Nantikoks (Nantikokes) of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned." [16]

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172 Archaeological evidence is at hand to extend the Nanticoke practice into the country of the Iroquois who gave them asylum after 1760 in the shelter of the League. The Susquehanna people, whose burial remains were considered by Moorehead to be of the Iroquoian type, show "bundle burial" as

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[14] R. C. Adams, "Notes on the Delaware Indians," Report on Indians Taxed and Indians not Taxed, U. S. Census, 1890, p. 299.

[15] The account by Adams is not to be explicitly relied upon as a source. Adams, among other claims, assumed the honor of being the only descendant of Chief Captain White Eyes, and so had himself portrayed. This statement is not accepted without modification by the Delawares, for we are told that his mother was a white woman and his father was scarcely more than one fourth Indian and that of Stockbridge (ɔ′p·an·u) Mahikan descent adopted by the Delawares. The name ɔ′p·an·u "easterner" was applied to the Stockbridge and the Iroquois in general.

[16] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

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far north as Athens, Pa., on the Susquehanna river, where bones were "heaped beside or over the skull."[17] This form of disposal of the dead is by no means limited to the area or disposed of by this single reference. D 172

That the ceremony described may have been performed by a Nanticoke contingent in the old Delaware Nation is possible in view of the fact that the Nanticoke have been referred to as constituting a "Wolf Clan," one of the ceremonial groupings, whenever we have mention of their social identity.[18] D N 764

We cannot, however, decide how and when the Delaware acquired this strange rite diffused from the peoples south of them, yet it is evident from Lindeström (1654–6) that it was known to them in southeastern Pennsylvania, and therefore this locale should be indicated as lying within the area of distribution of the custom of skeleton cleaning and bone burial.

The interesting and important short text to follow recounts the traditional facts descriptive of the Skeleton Dance as maintained by a small Nanticoke sect among the Delawares as late as 1860, before the Nation had removed from Kansas to Indian Territory. N 764

The Nanticoke of the Delaware Nation kept up the following performances until about 1860. Due then to inter-

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[17] W. K. Moorehead, "The Susquehanna Archaeological Expedition," Second Report of Pennsylvania Historical Commission, Harrisburg, 1918, p. 122. From one to seven burials were in the same grave. In one ossuary were bundle burials indicating that the bones had been deposited in a pit subsequent to the disappearance of the flesh, evidence that they had been cleaned of flesh and buried. Also D. S. Davidson, "Burial Customs in the Delmarva Peninsula and the Question of their Chronology," *American Antiquity*, 1, no. 2, 1935, pp. 84–97 shows archaeological evidence of bundle burial and bone cleaning as a recent trait in the Slaughter Creek neighborhood of Maryland. Dr. Davidson also gives a summary of bone-cleaning burial customs in the east and in the southeast from whence the idea had originally spread. See also pertinent discussion by W. B. Marye, *ibid.* II, no. 1, 1936, pp. 40–6.

[18] Among the Nanticoke descendants incorporated with the Six Nations Iroquois at Brantford, Ontario, it was found that the tribe was remembered as a homogeneous group under the title of the "Wolf Clan" (Speck, "Nanticoke and Conoy Indians," *op. cit.*, p. 22) and a similar inference may be made from the statement of Adams (see f. n. 14 above, *op. cit.*, p. 299) who defines the Human Skeleton Dance as a "Wolf Clan" rite.

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N 764 mixture with the Delawares and the loss of the Nanticoke language among the descendants, the ceremony became obsolete. D • [19] Some of the Delawares could, however, speak Nanticoke and sing the Nanticoke songs. Among the last of these was Bill Swa'nak (Bill White-Man), who himself was a Delaware. Recent information (1929) from the Delaware Nation states that there are only about six persons of recognized Nanticoke descent living there now.

N 764 539

THE NANTICOKE SKELETON DANCE OR GHOST DANCE

Lɔ′mwe‘kamiŋg	no′tci·	wani·lən·aᵉ′p·e	ki·′xkai·-		
Long ago times	ever since	the Delawares	lived close		
ke′yɔk‘	yu′li·ł	uəne‘t‘koᵉ′wα‘	wəńda‘kui·′tali·′	ka′si·-	
together with these		Nanticokes	back there	Kaw	
ai·si·′pu[19]	eᵉ′laik·eᵉ′t·up‘	wani·ləna′p·e	neᵉ′skun	i·′k·a	
River	there dwelt	the Delawares	before	there	
wu′ndji	ngat·‘ha′k·eᵉt‘	a′hi·ma‘	ɔse′i·	kwi·a′gwi·	
thence	migrated	very very	many	yet	
a′‘po	une′‘t‘ko	ɔk	lo′weᵉn	nihi·la′t·tci·	ha′t·e
there	Nanticokes	and	it was said	there they had	at that time
ełhak·e′‘ti·t	yu′kwe	ne′k·e	keᵉxen·aᵉ′gi·	ełha′k·eᵉt‘	
ceremony custom.	Now	there were	several	customs	
ɔk	ma′uhowak·an.	kwut·enaᵉ′‘ki·	eᵉłha′k·eᵉt‘	lowẹ′suk‘	
and	dances.	One of them	customs	was called	
une′‘t‘kowi·	wi·tci·payu′k·an	ə′n·da	aweᵉ′n	pali·-	
Nanticoke's	ghost dance	when	a person	passed	
lə′s·i·t‘	yu′ki·k‘	une′‘t‘kowαk‘	teᵉxi·i·′	mala′‘ci·	
away	these	Nanticokes	above the ground	like	
teᵉ′xkakani·′xαn	te′pi·təlαk‘hi′k·wi·	hukwe′yuŋg			
on platform of sticks	about so high	up above the ground			
nαceᵉ′	nanexkwi′t·tci·	ni·palaᵉ′n	aweᵉ′n	ne′n·i·	
and there	on top these	they stand	person's	that one	
wtoheᵉ′p·i·.	naceᵉ′	ełki·′kwi·	weᵉ′mi·aweᵉ′n	ne‘oyu′‘s·əm	
his body.	And there	whenever	all persons	that his flesh	
kwun·a′i·k·e	pali·′leᵉ	ɔk	pɔ′t·alət‘	nα′ceᵉ	weᵉ′mi·keko
finally	decays	and	falls off	and there	every thing

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[19] This was the older Delaware reservation in Kansas on Kaw River.

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mae·hɔ's·u	nα'li·	hɔ'k·hak·eha's·u	nayu'təpɔs·kwi·'i·	764
is gathered	and so	is buried	right here in front	539

ni·'p·ai·t'	na'k·a	awe·ni·'ka.	nace·'	tət·a	lək'hi'k·wi·
where it stood	the late deceased	person dead.	And there	sometime	afterward

nα'tc	macha's·u	we·'mi·	oxkanu'm·a	nayu'ni·
also will be	is gathered	all	his bones	and this

xkana'ndəp [30]	naka'lkɔt'	ə'n·da	tci·'payuk·a'xti·t'
his skull	using, doing	when	they had the ghost dance

tə't·a	enxen·a'xki·	awe·'ni·k'	wi·kɔsi'xti·t'	ə'n·da
as many	as many as	these persons	who died	when

kwu't·i·ga'xtiŋg	we·'mi·	awe·'n	məca·'la·n [31]
within that one year	all	persons	must represent the dead person

ɔk	nane't'xi·	hi't'kɔ	ni·'paxtun	a'pa·'mi·	awe·'n
and	as many	sticks	they erected	about	person

me·ca'k'ʷsi·t'	naneshak·i·'to·n	ɔk	ənaholi·'	ik·a'
person's height	made that high.	And	besides	there

e·tegi·'xtun	ne'n·i·	xkana'ndəp'	ɔk	te'pi·talək'hi'k·wi·
they fastened	this	skull	and	about so far [on stick]

na'ni·	ka'xtun	pe·'mi·stce'hel·a·k'	hi't·uk	nace·'
there	they tie	cross-piece	stick	and there

awe·'n	ɔ·'xt·a·s	mani·'han	mala''ci·	awe·'n	a'lən·de
person	doll	they make	like	someone	some

lə'n·u	tci·'takɔ	xkwe·'	nαce·'	yuli·l	xka'na	nayu'-
man	or	woman	and there	these	bones	right

təpɔskwi·'i·	ha't·un	ni·'paxte·k'	ne·'li·l	hi't·'kok'
opposite	they put	where stand	these	sticks.

me·'tci·	ə'nda	na'k·epi·'ske·k'	natɔ'ləmi·	ma'uhi·ne·'yo
Now	when	after dark	and they begin	they dance

we·'mi· awe·'n	e'nxi·	wi·'hil·ənd'	witcikə'nt'ke	ɔk
everybody	every each	was named	takes part in dance with	and

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[30] We learn also that sometimes an image or dummy of rags and clothes would be used instead.

[31] Every deceased person represented in the ghost ceremony had to have a living representative in the company, someone selected from his family or a near friend. This was important. These participants had their faces painted black (*sɔka'xtai*, "black ashes or charcoal") as a sign of mourning appropriate to being in the company of the ghosts which are being called back by the ceremony.

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yu'ki·k'	neᵉ'xkuhak·eᵉ'tci·k	naxpa'ŋgoᵘma'ɔk'[32]
these	who did the singing	they give them ceremonially

keᵉ'ko	lɔk	wa'ni·	ni·ka'nkaᵉt'	kwu't·i·t'poᵘ'kwe
wampum	and	the	leader of dance	all one night

ma'uhi·n	meᵉ'tci·	ɔ'n·da	a'ləmi·'	peᵉt·a'p·aŋg	meᵉk·-
dances	and now	when	beginning	to be daylight	the

əni·'hi·l·aᵉk	as·owa'k·an	laᵉs·o'ᵘwɑk'	neᵉ'ki·k'	nexku'-
last	song	they sing	these	drummers

hak·eᵉ'tci·k'	loweᵉ'yɔkhaŋg	təloweᵉ'humb'	ma'
singers	they say, it is said	"You said	finally [before you died]

mba'te'	ndoᵘmi·ya'n·	meᵉ'tci·ta	yu'kwe	kənat·oᵘ'mɑl.[33]
I will come	when you call me.	Now	here	I am calling you."

Free Translation.

A long time ago, when the Delawares lived close together with the Nanticokes, back there on Kaw River (Kansas) prior to 1875, where the Delawares dwelt before they migrated from that region, there were many of the Nanticoke there yet. And it was said at that time that they had a custom of their own. Now there were several customs and dances. One of these ceremonies in particular was called "The Nanticoke Ghost-Dance."

When anyone passed away, these Nanticokes erected a platform of sticks, above the ground, about as high as a person. And there on top of this, they stood the body of all such (who had died), the flesh finally decaying and falling off, to be gathered and buried right in front of where the corpse stood. And there, sometime afterward, all the bones and the skull to be used when they had their Ghost Dance.

According to the number of persons who had died during the year, they chose representatives of the dead persons. And they erected as many posts, as high as a person's head, as the number of dead during the year and there they fastened the skulls (one at the top of each post). And besides, they

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[32] The relatives of those who have died and are represented at the ceremony buy the wampum beforehand to distribute as an appreciation of help to the men who perform the dance before the bones.

[33] This was the title of the final song.

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tied a cross piece of wood and dressed up the figure of the 764
man or woman like a doll, upon it (beneath the skull). And 539
they put the bones of the deceased right opposite each of the posts. Now, when it has become dark, they begin their dance. Everybody who is to take part in the dance is named, also those who do the singing. And each performer is ceremonially presented with wampum, also the leader of the dance. They dance (in a circle in front of the posts, bearing the skulls and effigies moving counter-clockwise) all night. And when it is beginning to be daylight, they sing the last song, these drummers and singers. This is what they say in the song, according to tradition, "You said before you died, 'I will come when you call me!' Now here I am calling you."

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Some additional notes on the procedure of the Skeleton 764
Dance were recorded in Oklahoma from Mrs. Minnie Fouts, 539
an aged Delaware, whose mother had taken part in the [115]
ceremony and who had mentioned some of the details to her when a young girl. We learn that the ceremony was performed near a fire, but far enough away so that there was no light. They had to dance around the effigies in the dark. The men who attended each of the skeletons lay down near them and shook the bones when the dancers went by. The dancers each had a gourd rattle. A kettle-drum was also used by the singers at one side. At midnight a feast of beans, bread, pumpkins, and meat was partaken of by the dancers and all smoked the pipe. Then in the morning all the food left over was gathered up and divided among the guests.

[p. 150 is blank]

The matter presented in the study of Delaware ceremonies and dances just completed is intended to satisfy, so far as it may, the desires of several classes of investigators, both lay and professional, in the field of the human sciences. 796* 174

To the ethnologist Delaware ceremonialism has properties which should throw light upon the whole structure of native religion in the east. The principles functionally underlying the rituals and festivals are not strange to the native groups from the southeast to the northeast this side of the Mississippi. The graded hierarchy from the peak of heaven where sits the supreme being and creator, through the lesser ranks of nature-forces of the sky brought into existence by him, down to the creatures of earth, human and animal and plant, is a familiar theme in the teachings of Indian philosophy in eastern North America. The intrusion of a pattern bearing the mark of Delaware thought is apparent in most of its details here, which will undoubtedly strike the attention of the specialist in cultural history. And there are evidences of trait diffusion—the migration of ideas in simpler parlance—among the native groups of the area which will prolong the discussions provoked by divergent theories of culture origins in the east. To the ethnologist of the historical persuasion I could predict that something significant may be expected to show forth from studies analogous to these now in process of completion among the allied Canadian Delaware and Munsee. I might even risk an estimate of my own—a crass violation of ideals of caution in such ventures—in respect to the possible mutuality of beliefs and rites of worship among both Delaware-Munsee and Iroquois. It is my impression namely, that a Delaware could participate in the program of many of the ceremonial observances of a Cayuga Iroquois Long House group with a certain assurance of understanding the theology involved and of being able to take part comfortably in them despite his ignorance of the language. Historical factors to produce such conditions cannot well be erased from the local picture. And yet Algonkian religious history has no definable landmarks.

771 The succession of creed teachings which developed in the course of Delaware recorded religious history after the exodus from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi and the southern plains has followed within a fairly uniform contour. The pattern has remained intact even under the domination of a succession of native revealers and prophets whose "arrogant dogmas" thwarted the efforts of the first Moravian missionaries in the seventeenth century. It has lasted on through the turbulent period of colonial wars and the Revolution, until the adoption of the Peyote worship in the last quarter of the century just passed.

And there are those whose interests are aroused when clearer inspection of the country's aboriginal institutions becomes possible through the efforts of ethnologists exploring the still existent tribes, in recording and interpreting native custom before it is swept away by changes lately going on.

And finally, there are those who see the institutions described here with the eyes of appreciators favored by fortune with a breadth of understanding to sense a realization of sacred antiquity in the limitless vistas environing the past of America's unwritten religions. I wonder if by gaining an insight into religious customs of the tribe he will see how Delaware religion has authentic qualities in that it represents a growth-phase of nature interpretation, sympathetic and rationalized, which causes one to enter into its meanings in reference to the forest world with an awakened understanding.

829
771 Like other aboriginal groups in the east (the Algonquin, Ojibwa, Wabanaki, Montagnais-Naskapi and even the Iroquois—respectively Man-beings, Wise-men, Native-men, Native-born-men and Man-men, literally translated) the Delawares proclaim their self-conscious human status by designating themselves as *Lɔnaʹpɛɔk*, Common, or Ordinary, Men, as distinct from other creations. It is in their consciousness of possessing human arts and industries bestowed upon them by their creator that they distinguish themselves from the animals and other living forms. But their high relief of distinction from other created beings lies in the endowment of mental attributes, the superiorities which elevate them

above all non-human life forms, and in particular the endow- 829
ment of their own system of worship for which they are 771
directly responsible to the Creator himself. Herein is born
their tradition of religion, the very center of their culture,
denoted by an abstraction, *lənapeɔ'k·an*, literally "human
(Delaware) soul, or culture," a term occasionally encountered
in the reflections of the speakers quoted in the texts. Upon
such criteria of judgment the Lənaʹpe rate themselves as
creatures far above the emergence level. And we have before
us part of the evidence in the religious forms recorded in the
preceding pages. To be sure the mass content of rites and
ceremonies has been declining before the inroads of European
influence. A mere pitiful residue is at hand, as the orator has
frequently reiterated in his sermons. The native nations of
Indians on the Atlantic seaboard were by no means crude or a
primitive people.

That this essay is a sequel and complement to my Big 182
House Ceremony volume (1931) need scarcely be repeated. 771
Where that treats the composite rites whose aims are to
invoke, address and thank the Creator, this deals with procedures
directed toward influencing the lesser spiritual forces,
to afford them satisfaction and to secure immunity from their
imaginary persecutions. All is framed in accordance with a
native concept of the workings of natural law as put in motion
by the will of the Father, the Creator. The rites described
are dominated by a constant idea in the minds of the people,
to wit: that of being in the midst of a universe of partly-known
spiritual beings potentially pernicious. Some among them
are approachable by the proper forms of address on the
part of man for the removal of harmful influences. When the
corrective measures to alleviate the evils of spirit agencies are
known they constitute the rites of relief, and here we have
them collected; their philosophy of the uncertainties. A
far-reaching distinction is observable between the Delaware
attitude toward the Creator, who is consistently benign, and
the spirits of lower rank addressed in the rites now treated
whose attributes are not. These observations bring out the
contrast between the ceremonies dealt with here and those

182 covered in the Big House Ceremony. The infallible Father
771 and Creator seated in the twelfth heaven above, in his beneficence toward man is believed to yearn for the voiced recognition of his creatures as they pay their devoirs to him—his human children gathered to celebrate the twelve day ceremony of the Big House. Even his creatures the trees recognise his all-high benevolence when murmuring their prayers to him in the rustling of leaves, and the birds whose voices are also prayer-calls. We learn again how only the created beings can depart from the rule of goodness and perfection; the lesser spirits, those on earth, mankind, animals, and plants. In man's struggle to avert the evil purposes of his spiritual opponents there have developed the means of checking their evil tendencies and consequent misfortunes. Thus are accounted for the rites and ceremonies. When the source of specific persecution has been discovered, the Delaware discovers the spiritual means for relief through revelation. Thus he has laid his mind open to the accumulation of visions and visitations and to their acceptance as verities. Most typical are the cases where captured and partly tamed animals, friends and pets at first, are imagined to possess lurking potencies of evil. They, like man, combine the opposed natures of good and evil. Caprice, it seems, decides their reactions toward each other. Yet throughout is the realization of the ruling principle of good in the abstract represented by the Creator, invoked through the medium of spirits nearest to him to intercede for the people's good. So we interpret the functions of the ceremonial rites and addresses which form so valuable a part of the material provided here by our informants. The systems revealed are not stupid and "superstitious" but poetical in their undertones of reasoning: poetical mechanisms of escape.

004 Thus having gone through the data gathered for preservation through some years of study at the feet of native informants, we build up the structure of knowledge providing source material for future students in the field of the humanities. In doing so we anticipate that unhappy time now hastened by the forces of commerce and "mass civilization" when

native tribes and peoples in America are no longer distinct or 000
treading in the traditional culture-paths of their borebears—the lost but venerated *ager antiquus*. We are dealing here with customs decadent within the last two generations, that is all. Echoes of rites last performed by the Delawares have died down but the voices are still living voices. As such they have been made to repeat the phrases and, as ex-players, enact the movements of age-old ceremonies. From this circumstance we all share the feeling that much is lacking, too much indeed to encourage a hope for light on their origins. There seems, however, to be no way to make up for the loss.

The dominating personality in this exposition of Delaware 115
religious plays, their Director indeed, has been Wi·tapano'xwe—I prefer to designate him by his ceremonial name, as ordained by Algonkian custom in matters of this nature, rather than by his vulgar name C. J. Webber. So quite inevitably out of this circumstance has resulted material for a modest case-study of the mental attitudes of an *individual;* a Delaware of social prominence stirred by interest in the sophistries of his inherited traditions and creed. This is fortunate, for studies of personality in culture are constantly being emphasized. Wi·tapano'xwe unconsciously sits for his psychological tintype, adding another Indian character self-delineation to the series now assembled for analysis by investigators in this field, the later generations of students stimulated by the pioneering school of anthropological thought founded by Franz Boas.

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